



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 9, 1956

BY COURIER SERVICE

Mr. Maxwell M. Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

In line with our conversation, I am enclosing a
copy of the basic statement which I used in making my
presentation at the Cabinet meeting this morning.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely,



Enclosure

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

Authority MR 76-127 DOCUMENT # 7

By DETH NLE DATE 11/13/22

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 1, 1956

RACIAL TENSION AND CIVIL RIGHTS



INTRODUCTION:

The Attorney General has assigned to the FBI the responsibility of investigating allegations of violations of the Federal Civil Rights Statutes. In the investigation of these cases involving peonage and involuntary servitude, vote frauds and the depriving of a citizen of the right to vote; conspiracies to deprive others of rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States; acts under color of law depriving persons of rights, privileges and immunities protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States and the investigation of subversive activities, the FBI has been brought into close daily contact with racial tensions and controversies. I shall therefore endeavor to present the background and development of the present situation concerning racial tension and related matters bearing upon Civil Rights.

Racial tension has been mounting almost daily since the Supreme Court banned segregation in public schools on May 17, 1954, and later, on May 31, 1955, required that integration be established at the earliest practicable date "consistent with good faith compliance." This mounting tension has manifested itself in overt acts on the part of individuals, organized resistance in legislative bodies, and the creation of organizations on a widespread basis in the South to resist integration.

In recent months, some of the opponents of integration have been using such terms as "preventing bloodshed," "there is going to be blood spilled," "bloodshed will come," "organized resistance," to mention only a few. Before

DECLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Authority MR 76-127 Document # 8

By DDH NLE DATE 1/13/77

12,000 persons at a citizens council rally on February 10, 1956, in Montgomery, Alabama, Senator Eastland urged resistance and claimed, "The Anglo-Saxon people have held steadfast to the belief that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." Roy V. Harris, attorney and member State Board of Regents, told a Negro college gathering that if integration is forced on the South, "There will be bitterness, hatred and bloodshed." He then compared the NAACP to the post Civil War carpetbaggers. On the other hand, some of the proponents of integration have used terms such as "some white blood will flow too." Acts of violence against members of the white race have been advocated by at least one preacher and other talk of meeting resistance in the South has occurred.



In many areas, reason has given way to emotion. When such a situation exists, the potential for serious outbreaks of violence is ever present and can be triggered by incidents which in a calmer period would go unnoticed.

In recent weeks emotion has supplanted reason in an almost open and unheard of rebellion on the part of certain members of the Catholic Church against the local hierarchy over the issue of integration in Louisiana. A colored priest was banned from saying Mass at Jesuit Bend, Louisiana; a catechism class at Belle Chase, Louisiana, was disrupted and Negro children were forced to walk at the rear of a line of march from the classroom to the church; and a local political leader is reported to have put a Negro girl out of the church and cursed the priest. These incidents were investigated by the FBI at the direction of the Department of Justice.

Conflict Is a Part of History

The situation we face today does not represent an experience that is entirely new. History, tradition and economics are the basis for the present uneasiness and growing tensiity.



Memories of the Reconstruction

Race relations still are affected by the deep and bitter feelings which have been handed down from generation to generation in the deep South. Memories of the Civil War period are being revived. There is still talk among some cultured and educated Southerners of rule by the "blacks," "carpetbaggers," and "scalawags."

It is a matter of historical significance that among the five states of Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, where "black" voters were in a majority in the reconstruction period, we find our most troubled areas today, with the single exception of Florida.

If the bloodshed, which both the proponents and opponents of integration now discuss, is to be avoided, there needs to be real understanding and public education with regard to the factors contributing to ferment now taking place, which can boil over at any moment in acts of extensive violence.

Among the chief causes advanced for resentment against integration in the South are the following:

1. There has been a lack of objectivity and balance in the treatment of race relations by the press, and the South is in a state of explosive resentment over what they consider as unfair portrayal of their way of life, and what they consider as intermeddling.

2. The philosophy of "States Rights" has come to the fore and is either being seized upon as a justification for maintaining traditions and conventions or represents a resurgence of Jeffersonian principles of a constitutional government of delegated powers with the sovereignty remaining in the states.
3. The current tensions represent a clash of culture when the protection of racial purity is a rule of life ingrained deeply as the basic truth.
4. The paternalistic spirit which is a carryover from the days of slavery recognizes the need to provide for greater opportunity for Negroes as well as their acceptance but does not yet consider that mixed education is the means whereby the races can best be served. And behind this stalks the specter of racial intermarriages. The following specifics are cited most frequently:
- (a) Health - the claim is made that colored parents are not as careful in looking after the health and cleanliness of their children. The claim of a higher incidence of venereal disease among Negroes is also cited as a reason for segregation in the use of lavatory facilities and gymnasiums.
- (b) Home life - the cultural background of most colored children differs radically from white children and regardless of the unfairness of judgments and the logical explanations in the public mind, the reason is still racial. The master and servant relationship in the South is still the rule.

- (c) Morals - the benefit of matrimony and recourse to divorce give way to convenience and consequent illegitimacy.
- (d) Crime - maintaining order is a primary concern among Southerners and they point to the higher prevalence of crime among Negroes than among whites. This argument is applied to integration by claiming that with the racial bars down the increase of daily contact would provide greater opportunities for interracial strife.
- (e) Intellectual development - the claim is made that Southern Negroes are usually below the intellectual level of white children. The further claim is made that it would take a generation to bring the races to a parity.

The Crusade for Integration

The advocates of integration base their position on legal, moral and ethical grounds.

The proponents of integration feel that victory is within their grasp and are determined to press for what they consider is their constitutional right and have set 1963, the Centennial of the Proclamation of Emancipation, seven years hence, as their goal to achieve the reality of full equality. The proponents of integration have acquired a taste of victory and have learned the techniques of mobilization, pressure, and propaganda to build momentum for their cause.

When the Supreme Court ruled in 1944, twelve years ago, that no qualified voter could be barred on the basis of race or color from participating in "White Democratic Primaries," there were fewer than 200,000 registered Negro voters in the South. In 1948, there were 1,300,000 Negro voters in the South and the goal for 1956 is 3,000,000 Negro voters.



The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claims that the blocking of Senate confirmation of the Supreme Court appointment of Circuit Judge John J. Parker in 1930 marked "the beginning of the Negro's political coming of age" and the time when "the Negro himself recognized his political power."

After the Parker confirmation was rejected 41 to 39 on May 7, 1930, they then mobilized to defeat all Senators voting for Parker and claim the defeat of such Senators in California, Kansas, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. (In evaluating the claim, the opposition of labor to Parker must be considered along with the fact that the depression was beginning to be felt and the ground swell had set in which brought the Democrats to power in 1932.) The fact remains that the victories thus achieved heighten the spirit of the proponents and at the same time provide a unifying force for those resisting integration and the advancement of race relations.

The troubled areas are further disturbed by the ratio between the races. The 1950 Census reflects those over 21 who were of the white race totaled 88,195,191, while the non-whites totaled 9,208,116. The geographic distribution of the races is as follows:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Non-white</u>	<u>White</u>
Northeast	1,376,701	25,642,897
North Central	1,519,841	27,722,586
South	5,693,181	22,616,312
West	618,393	12,213,396

The Southerners advance the view that the more Negroes who leave the South the better since this will distribute the "race problem" more evenly across the country and eventually will make for less tension in the South. From 1940 to 1950, the proportion of Negroes declined from 49.2 per cent to 45.3 per cent in Mississippi; 42.9 per cent to 38.8 per cent in South Carolina; 35.9 per cent to 32.9 per cent in Louisiana; 34.7 per cent to 32 per cent in Alabama and 34.7 per cent to 30.9 per cent in Georgia.



Proponents of Integration

The following organizations presently advancing integration are the ones which have figured in the rising tensions and are the principal targets of attack in the South:

1. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was created in 1909 and has more than a quarter million members in the various states. The NAACP has provided the leadership in forcing various issues involving the Negro before the Courts. Over the years, it has investigated acts of violence, racial disturbances and incidents.

Following the May, 1954, Supreme Court decision, there was a marked increase in NAACP activities. Court actions were initiated against a number of local school boards in the South and a campaign has been launched to extend the principles of nonsegregation in other areas such as housing, interstate travel, and health facilities.




The Communist Party has instructed all Negro comrades to join the NAACP but, despite the determined effort of the Communist Party to infiltrate the NAACP, this organization reaffirmed its anti-Communist stand at its last convention in Atlantic City in June, 1955. Since then the Communist Party has intensified its efforts to infiltrate the NAACP particularly at local levels. To illustrate, Ed Strong, Chairman of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party, was in contact with several NAACP officials in Texas in January.

In recent months, the NAACP has concentrated its activities around the Till case and the Mississippi shootings of Reverend George W. Lee, Belzoni; Lamar Smith, Lincoln County; and Gus Courts of Belzoni, Mississippi.

One recent incident which has a potential for acts of violence is a citywide boycott by Negroes of buses in Montgomery, Alabama, which started in December, 1955, designed to force an end to segregation on buses. Considerable tension and several shootings preceded the boycott. Police cars escort the buses through the Negro sections to prevent acts of violence. A bomb was exploded on the front porch of the residence of one of the leaders in the boycott; and two days later, February 10, 1956, an explosive device was detonated in the front yard of another leader. Two pro-segregation groups promptly offered \$1,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the wrongdoers. After the boycott had been on for over two months, bus service had fallen off 50 per cent. There is considerable tension in Montgomery with the possibility of additional incidents. A State Grand Jury was convened on February 13, 1956, to determine whether the boycott was a violation of a state law making boycotts a misdemeanor punishable by 6 months in jail or \$500 fine.

On February 21, 1956, the Grand Jury indicted 115 Negroes under a 1921 law which makes a conspiracy to interfere with or hinder business a misdemeanor. In reporting its findings, the Grand Jury reported growing tensions, observed that small incidents have been magnified and stated, "...if we continue on our present course...violence is inevitable. The leaders of both races are urged to take a long and thoughtful look into the future."

Dr. A. H. McCoy, President of the NAACP in Mississippi, in commenting on their demands for integration, warned that if violence occurred "some white blood will flow too." B. L. Hooks, NAACP leader in Memphis, Tennessee, on January 29, 1956, told local Negroes to "rock more boats and create more storms." He also said, "If it's necessary for us to stir up more tension and more interest to win our fight, I'm willing to do it."



The disgraceful incident at the University of Alabama on February 4, 5 and 6, 1956, is a symptom of the increasing tensions in the South. In a suit originally filed on July 3, 1953, the Federal Judge in Birmingham, Alabama, enjoined the University of Alabama on July 1, 1955, from denying admittance to two Negroes. The injunction was then suspended four months to allow an appeal. On February 1, 1956, Miss Autherine Lucy, age 26, was admitted but admittance was denied to Miss Pollyann Myers Hudson, age 23, on moral grounds. (On February 9, 1956, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Counsel, ordered her suit withdrawn on the claim she was a hussy, i. e. had baby 6 months after marriage.)

A mob of 3,000 persons gathered at the University to protest the admittance of Miss Lucy and police used tear gas to disperse the mob. NAACP attorneys filed contempt proceedings against University officials and four mob leaders on February 9, 1956. At a hearing on February 29, 1956, the Federal Judge ordered that Miss Lucy be readmitted on March 5, 1956. On March 1, 1956, the

University issued a statement that she had been expelled for making false charges against the University.



2. Communist Party, USA

The expertness of the Communist Party in pitting class against class has long been devoted to publicly espousing the cause of the Negro as a tactic to recruit Negroes into its ranks and to use the Negro as a rallying point to further its aim of weakening the United States. For years, the Communist Party has had difficulty in making inroads in the South and seizes upon any incident to heighten tension and precipitate difficulties.

The Communists have decided now to concentrate their activities in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi since these are the growing areas of industrial concentration where Communists think they have the best chance to infiltrate and expand the Party strength. The Party is now engaged in an active program to send Party members from the New England States to these three states where they will concentrate in the textile industry.

The Communists intend to inject the Negro question into every possible issue. They claim that the unfortunate and brutal killing of 14-year-old Emmett Till is the finest thing that has happened from their standpoint. For public consumption they claim that the Till case is an historic event and the turning point in the Negro struggle for liberation.

The Communists are also maneuvering "an all out political mobilization," which they hope "will be an important factor in determining the position of the Negro people in the crucial Presidential election now at hand." The Communists thus hope to alienate support which the Administration has previously secured from the South and border states.

Communist leaders have sought to infiltrate the NAACP to effect a working agreement and a united front, although the national leadership of the NAACP remains anti-Communist.

The Communist Party has ordered each district to start a program of agitation designed "to put the heat on Federal authorities" and to demand that the Federal Government by immediate action support the Supreme Court decision on the desegregation issue.



To illustrate the potency of Communist pressure, I need only to cite the sequence of events in Chicago. In September, 1955, the Illinois-Indiana District C. P. started agitation with a 1-page leaflet on the Till case calling upon President Eisenhower to dismiss the Attorney General. This was followed by an agitation campaign by the Civil Rights Congress calling for pressure on the President and the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago on September 2, 1955, wired the President urging intervention. I hasten to say that Mayor Daley is not a Communist, but pressures engineered by the Communists were brought to bear upon him.

The Communists have long been clamoring for a march on Washington to bring pressure on both the Executive and Legislative Branches of Government.

The present Communist Party program calls for:

1. Intervention in the Till case since they claim that the Southern states, particularly Mississippi, are undergoing

a reign of terror.

2. Federal intervention, with Armed Services if necessary, is essential to preserve law and order in Mississippi.
3. The enactment by Congress of antilynching, antipoll tax and fair employment practices legislation.
4. The Mississippi delegation should not be seated in Congress and Senator James O. Eastland should be impeached.
5. No Federal funds should be given to public schools which are still segregated.



3. Afro-American Congress of Christian Organizations

The Afro-American Congress of Christian Organizations, an all-Negro organization, was reactivated in Chicago, Illinois, last October as a protest to the Till case. It is headed by Reverend Clarence William Harding of the Victory Baptist Church. Harding preaches racial hatred and retaliation against white people.

This organization sponsored a mass rally in Chicago on October 9, 1955, to raise money to send a delegation to Washington on October 22, 1955, to focus attention on the Till case. The Communist Party gave Harding \$100 on October 7, 1955, to advertise his October 9 meeting. Harding asked for names from the Communist Party to

contact for contributions on a trip to New York City, Philadelphia, Detroit, and other places. He is reported to have an underground in the South with headquarters in Mississippi. Rumors in circulation are that Negroes are buying small firearms and sending them to relatives in the South.

Harding raised \$370 at his October 9 meeting and 32 members of his group came to Washington, picketed the White House, and made protests to the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, Criminal Division. Harding was convicted by court martial on 5-10-43 and sentenced to serve five years in a Federal reformatory for uttering disloyal statements. The Communist Party does not control the organization but does attempt to influence it.



4. Muslim Cult of Islam

The Muslim Cult of Islam is made up of religious fanatics who claim allegiance only to Allah and whose leader is Elijah Mohammed who resides in Chicago. This cult is anti-United States and violently antiwhite. It is a tightly knit and controlled organization with an estimated 1,000 members and temples in 15 cities. Last December, we had reports that a number of members were sent from Philadelphia to spread the teachings of the cult through the South. The prophet Mohammed recently made a trip South and is aware of a fertile field awaiting the teachings of his cult.

5. March on Washington

A national conference on civil rights under the auspices of the NAACP was originally scheduled to be held in Washington in February but the date has now been changed to March 4 through 6, 1956.

From December 3 to 5, 1955, a Communist Party Commission discussed plans for the March on Washington in connection with an NAACP conference. The Party has issued instructions to mobilize its forces for this March on Washington and it can be anticipated that the Party will try to exert influence on the NAACP conference. There is reliable information from the highest level of the Communist Party that Doxey Wilkerson, a Negro Communist leader, has had a secret conference with NAACP leaders in New York on a campaign on the Till case.



The Communist Party plans to use this conference to embarrass the Administration by causing a rift between the Administration and Dixiecrats who have supported it, by forcing the Administration to take a stand on civil rights legislation with the present Congress. The Party hopes through a rift to affect the 1956 elections.

The Party under the guise of NAACP delegations has already contacted Members of Congress in the Chicago area seeking to get them on record on civil rights legislation. There is some internal disagreement among NAACP leaders about the advisability of holding the conference.

A press release issued by the NAACP states the Washington meeting March 4-6, 1956, will be composed of some 50 organizations and

will seek an eight-point legislative program as follows:

1. A Federal F. E. P. C.
2. Withhold Federal funds from segregated projects
3. Make lynching and other race-inspired acts violations
of Federal laws
4. Abolition of poll tax
5. Establish Civil Rights Division in Department of Justice
6. Create permanent Federal Commission on Civil Rights
7. Eliminate remaining segregation and other forms of
discrimination in interstate travel.
8. Establish majority rule in the Senate and House.
(Aimed at filibuster.)

Prosegregation Activities

We now come to a consideration of the organized activities in the South which either could control the rising tensions or become the medium through which tensions might manifest themselves.

To our certain knowledge, 127 organizations have come into being since May 17, 1954, all designed to maintain segregation.

In no instance have we been advised that any of the so-called Citizens Councils advocate violence. Senator Eastland in addressing a rally of the Citizens Councils of Alabama at Montgomery on 2/10/56 in urging resistance to integration said, "The fight we wage must be a just and legal fight. Acts of violence and lawlessness have no place in our organization." Their purposes include education against the evils of integration, advocacy of state sovereignty

and some have been formed to serve on a stand-by basis in the event the NAACP or Negro citizens petition for integration. Where no steps have been taken to advance integration, the organizations have been relatively quiet.

In some instances groups are being more aggressive and are advocating economic pressure on members of the NAACP, registered Negro voters and persons openly advocating integration. The most active organization in this area is the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi which now has 253 chapters in the State.

Membership

The Councils vary in size from as few as 30 members to as many as 60,000 in Mississippi. The 41 organizations for which figures are available reflect a total membership of 116,000.

The membership of these organizations reflects bankers, lawyers, doctors, state legislators and industrialists. In short, their membership includes some of the leading citizens in the South. Among the high-ranking officials who have given oral support to these organizations are Senators Eastland and Thurmond and Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia.

The organizations to date have been open in their methods and their meetings have been reported by the press. The newspapers in the South carry advertisements and letters to the editor. For example, the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion Ledger on September 14, 1954, quoted a planter as saying, "We won't gin their cotton, we won't allow them credit and we won't rent them houses if Negroes try to break down segregation." The same paper on

October 24, 1954, in a letter to the editor from Fred Jones, former State Senator, stated he was a member of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi and pointed out, "We can accomplish our purposes largely with economic pressure...in dealing with members of the Negro race who are not cooperating, and with members of the white race who fail to cooperate, we can apply social and political pressure."

Economic Pressure



The Councils' program in some areas in applying economic pressure already has begun to make itself felt. In Humphreys County, Mississippi, a white farmer reported that 400 Negroes paid poll tax in 1954 and only 94 in 1955. One Negro was told that economic pressure would be applied if he didn't resign as President of the NAACP in Belzoni, Mississippi. He didn't resign but we cannot say if this was the sole reason for his being shot and wounded on November 25, 1955.

A Negro dentist was told by the local bank he would be given no more financial assistance. A Negro gas station operator who refused to put up a sign "For Colored Only" was notified by the gas distributor that he would have to pay cash for oil and gas in advance. The local bank fixed a short deadline on his repayment of a loan.

A doctor who was a member of the NAACP was told by patients that their employers would not pay their doctor bills in the future.

The Citizens Council in Yazoo City, Mississippi, ran a paid advertisement in August, 1955, setting forth the names of 53 Negroes who petitioned for integrated schools. As a result, many lost their jobs, those who were self-employed received no work, and grocery stores refused to sell the petitioners merchandise. As a consequence, several of the petition signers left Yazoo City and went North.

Two Negroes were asked if they had paid their poll tax when they took their cotton to be ginned. They had and were told to come back when they got straightened out. They had their names removed from the voting rolls in Isola, Mississippi, and their cotton was ginned without question.

When the Falstaff Brewery Company, New Orleans, Louisiana, contributed to the NAACP, merchants in Canton, Mississippi, discontinued their purchases. Subsequently, the Falstaff Brewery Company sent a letter to the NAACP saying it was contrary to Company policy to make contributions to organizations such as the NAACP and that the donation previously made was made on behalf of an employee. They then started selling beer again in Canton.

Federation for Constitutional Government

In January, 1955, representatives of 11 Southern states met at Jackson, Mississippi, for the purpose of creating a coordinating organization known as the Federation of Constitutional Government. In the last week of December, 1955, delegates from 12 states met at Memphis, Tennessee, to perfect the organization. Among the 100 persons selected for the advisory

board were Senator Eastland of Mississippi, Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, 6 members of the House of Representatives, and 4 former Southern Governors. The organization has as its purpose "to fight racial integration" and "other efforts to destroy the Constitution" by coordinating the efforts in the various pro-segregation organizations. At the December meeting a resolution was adopted endorsing the Virginia proposal of "interposition" to nullify and void the Supreme Court antisegregation decisions.

Ku Klux Klan




The Ku Klux Klan was pretty much defunct after successful prosecutions of cases investigated by the FBI in Georgia, North and South Carolina and Florida in the early 50s. Since May, 1954, an effort has been made to reactivate it and it has promoted public demonstrations for the primary purpose of seeking publicity and increasing its membership. At a meeting on February 13, 1956, in Roswell, Georgia, Imperial Wizard E. L. Edwards charged that if the Federal Judge ordered that Miss Lucy be admitted to the University of Alabama and there were riots, he, the Judge, would be guilty of murder.

Evidence of Growing Tension

There has been an increasing number of inflammatory statements which reflects growing public opinion in the South with no effort being made to conceal the position of Southern leaders.

The Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion Ledger of September 10, 1954, in a story quoted unidentified legislators as stating: If Negroes know about the

Citizens Councils they will not try to enter white schools. They (the Councils) will prevent bloodshed. . . . "A few killings" would be the best thing for the State just before the people vote on a proposed amendment empowering the legislature to abolish public schools. The men banding together in Citizens Councils "want to persuade first but are determined to use force if necessary." Attorney General Eugene Cook, in addressing a rally of Citizens Councils in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 10, 1956, said, "The time has now come to . . . use defiance, nullification and refuse to obey." He also said, "We will not permit racial suicide in Georgia at any price. . . ." and then observed that the goal of the NAACP is to remove all racial barriers including racial intermarriage.



Robert Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Associated Citizens Councils of Mississippi, on October 25, 1955, said, "Organized aggression must be met with organized resistance. We must unite and let the politicians know how we feel." Congressman L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina in November, 1955, stated that the Supreme Court decision would bring mongrelization of the Caucasian race (the mixture of the races) and predicted bloodshed will come if the present trend is not stopped.

On December 30, 1955, Governor Hugh White of Mississippi in commenting upon a statement of Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney that the Department of Justice was giving attention to the activities of Citizens Councils stated that the Councils have nothing to hide from the Department of Justice, whom he called "a bunch of meddlesome jackasses."

Ellis Wright, President of the Citizens Council in Jackson, Mississippi, stated, "We now tell the NAACP people they have started something they will never finish."



Progress in Civil Rights

Despite the tension which now exists, progress in civil rights has been made. Acts of violence have declined. In 1939, the FBI, at the direction of the Department of Justice, started investigating civil rights violations involving acts of violence. In the past 17 years, a total of 39 lynchings have occurred, as contrasted with 317 lynchings in the preceding 17-year period. No lynchings have been reported in the past 4 years.

Gradual change has been taking place. In 1953, well before the Supreme Court decision requiring ultimate desegregation of the entire public school system, state-owned universities in 12 of 17 Southern and border states had opened their classrooms to Negro students. This was accomplished with little stir.

To date, 36 state-financed colleges previously all white in 12 Southern and border states have accepted Negro students. Ten Southern medical schools and 30 Southern nursing schools have admitted Negroes. This gradual trend has been free of violence.

More than 500 Negroes have enrolled in formerly all white state-supported colleges and universities from Texas to Virginia, with the marked exception of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. Even in Louisiana there are more Negroes enrolled in white colleges and universities

than any other state in the South. More than 350 there are taking graduate and undergraduate courses. Texas has more than 100 enrolled. Negroes are well represented in Kentucky, Arkansas, North Carolina and Virginia colleges and universities.

In the fiscal year 1955, we handled 1,275 cases involving alleged violations of civil rights as contrasted with 1,458 such cases in the fiscal year 1954. In the past six months, we have averaged 100 complaints a month involving alleged violations of civil rights. The FBI is directed to make preliminary inquiries upon receipt of information involving allegations of civil rights violations. However, full field investigations are made only upon direction of the Department's Criminal Division.



In the 4 cases which are most frequently mentioned, the FBI has investigated the shootings of Reverend George W. Lee at Belzoni, Mississippi, and the shooting of Gus Courts. The Emmett Till and the Lamar Smith cases were not investigated by the FBI since there was no Federal jurisdiction.

One of the most encouraging developments in civil rights matters has been the changed attitude of Southern law enforcement officers toward civil rights. For example, whenever a charge of civil rights violations is raised against the Dallas, Texas, Police Department, the Chief of Police personally reports the incident to the FBI with a request that we investigate.

In 1954 we conducted 6 specialized training schools on civil rights for local law enforcement agencies in the South, 5 in 1955 and so far this year 128 such schools have either been held or are scheduled to be held in the near future. In Monroe, Louisiana, for example, on

December 13, 1955, we had to run the school in two sessions. The night force went to classes in the morning and the day force went to classes in the evening.

Obstruction to Investigation of Civil Rights Matters

Invariably, when atrocious acts of violence break out we run into an iron curtain of silence. The difficulties which our Agents face at times are almost indescribable. The Negroes are afraid to talk and in case after case we have had to wait until nightfall to go see them if we hoped to secure any information.



In other instances, we are greeted by open antagonism on the part of some local authorities.

In the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, we are not permitted to interview prisoners complaining of violations of their civil rights in state institutions without a prison official being present and in South Carolina we have to secure the written permission of the Governor. Circuit Judge George Wallace, at Union Springs, Alabama, on February 6, 1956, in a charge to a Grand Jury, asserted that if the FBI invaded the State sovereignty by investigating the selection of jurors in his county as we did in Cobb County, Georgia, he, the Judge, would order the arrest of every member of the FBI or any other Federal agency involved in such investigation on contempt of court charges. This Judge's jurisdiction covers Barbour, Bullock and Dale Counties.

Conclusion

The question of civil rights is interrelated with racial prejudices; charged with highly emotional surges. The law-abiding people of the South neither approve nor condone acts of brutality and the lawless taking of human lives. On

the other hand, historic traditions and customs are a part of a heritage with which they will not part without a struggle. Militant resources of both those who stand for and against segregation have been mobilized and impulsive precipitated action could unleash acts of violence. The mounting tension can be met only with understanding and a realization of the motivating forces. Delicate situations are aggravated by some overzealous but ill-advised leaders of the NAACP and by the Communist Party, which seeks to use incidents to further the so-called class struggle.

Calm, judicious judgment, public education and real understanding are needed to avert explosive incidents. The area of danger lies in friction between extremists on both sides ready with violence.

CABINET PAPER—PRIVILEGED

Property of the White House—For Authorized Persons Only

CI - 11

January 26, 1955

The White House

Washington

THE CABINET

Report by the Attorney General on the
Administration's Efforts in the Field
of Racial Segregation
and Discrimination

For information of Cabinet Members, attached is
a copy of a progress report by the Attorney General
summarizing the various significant steps taken by the
Administration to eliminate racial segregation and
discrimination in their different forms and aspects.

This report should be considered as background
information in conjunction with a portion of the Attorney
General's oral report at the coming Cabinet meeting.

Maxwell M. Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet

CABINET PAPER

For Information



CABINET PAPER—PRIVILEGED

Property of the White House—For Authorized Persons Only

REPORT BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS IN THE FIELD OF RACIAL SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

This report summarizes various significant steps taken by the Administration to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination in their different forms and aspects.

Education

(1) In the field of public school education, segregation of pupils on the basis of race or color has been declared to violate the Constitution. This was done by the Supreme Court in its decisions of May 1954. Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U. S. 483, and Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U. S. 497. The remaining question before the Court is how the decisions are to be implemented. This involves two issues as to which the Court has requested further briefs and will hear further argument from the parties and the Attorney General. First, the Court has asked whether it must order an immediate end to segregation or whether it can permit a gradual adjustment; second, it has asked whether if it has the power to permit a gradual adjustment, how such adjustment should be worked out. Our brief has already been filed. Our position is in essence, first, that the Court has the power to permit a gradual adjustment and, second, that there should be no unnecessary delay in ending segregation. More specifically, we say that the school authorities should be required to submit within 90 days plans for ending segregation as soon as possible and that, if they do not submit such plans, they should be ordered to end segregation forthwith; that the lower courts should pass upon the plans which may be submitted and supervise their execution, with the Supreme Court retaining jurisdiction to step in if necessary.

Oral argument of the case, in which the Government will participate, awaits confirmation of Justice Harlan in place of the late Justice Jackson.



(2) In the District of Columbia the Board of Education has already put into effect a plan for desegregation. In that connection the District Government obtained the dismissal of a citizens' federation suit intended to maintain segregation pending final action by the Supreme Court.

(3) The Department of Defense has taken steps to eliminate racial segregation of children in schools for the children of personnel stationed at military installations. The Department determined that all schools operated by the military would begin operation on an integrated basis with the beginning of the 1953 fall term, and this policy was carried out on schedule. With respect to the question of schools located on military installations but operated on a segregated basis by local educational agencies, the Secretary of Defense on January 12, 1954, directed "that the operation of all school facilities located on military installations shall be conducted without segregation on the basis of race or color", and that this policy should be placed in effect as soon as practicable but under no circumstances later than September 1, 1955. See Integration in the Armed Services, January 1, 1955, a Progress Report prepared by the Office of The Civilian Assistant, OASD-M & P, pp. 2-3.

(4) The Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has undertaken by reeducation to lessen public opposition to desegregation in areas where such opposition may exist. It has done this through preparation of a guide for leaders of public and private community groups concerning knowledge, principles,

CABINET PAPER

For Information

CABINET PAPER—PRIVILEGED

Property of the White House—For Authorized Persons Only

- 2 -

techniques, and practices in the field of intergroup relations. Leaders' Guide to Use and Study of Materials on Intergroup Education, prepared by Joseph H. Douglass and Ambrose Caliver, of the Office of Education (published by the National Education Association, 1954).

Transportation

(1) The Attorney General has urged the Interstate Commerce Commission to outlaw racial segregation of railroad passengers traveling on interstate journeys. This action was taken in the case of National Association for The Advancement of Colored People v. St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Company (I.C.C. Docket No. 31423), involving 12 rail carriers linking the South to the rest of the country. In November 1954 an examiner of the Commission issued a report proposing that the Commission should prohibit this practice. The railroads have recently filed exceptions to the report which exceptions will be considered by the Commission as provided by its rules. The Attorney General will ask the Commission to adopt its examiner's report.

(2) The Department of Justice, with the approval of the Bureau of the Budget, supported legislation in the 83d Congress (H. R. 7304, S. 465, 2672, and like bills) (which failed to be enacted) to abolish "Jim Crow" practices in all forms of interstate transportation, stating that "Passage of this kind of legislation would remove all doubts and bring to a conclusion the long process of making the facilities of interstate travel available to all without distinction because of race or color." Letter of Deputy Attorney General Rogers dated August 4, 1954, to Senator Bricker, Chairman, Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The Armed Forces

The Department of Defense has vigorously continued to implement the policy of equality of opportunity and treatment for its Negro personnel. The matter of schools has already been mentioned. Other steps taken include the following (See Integration in the Armed Services, Progress Report, *supra*, *passim*):

(1) On March 1, 1954, the Navy Department abolished the practice of separate recruitment of Negroes to serve as stewards. As a result Negro recruits are now assured of the opportunity, as all others, to choose their branch of service on the basis of testing and training.

(2) The Department of the Army in regulations issued April 23, 1954, directed the omission of racial designations in orders for the reassignment of members between Army Reserve Units. This directive facilitates the participation of Negro personnel in Army Reserve Activities on the same basis as that now obtaining for personnel on active duty.

(3) On August 20, 1953, the Secretary of the Navy directed the complete elimination of all barriers to the use of previously segregated facilities on Government-owned Shore Stations of the Navy. Concurrently, similar action was taken by the Army and Air Force.

(4) In a directive issued June 11, 1954, the Secretary of Defense provided for a program to familiarize contracting officers, administrators, and other personnel dealing with procurement with "the spirit, intent, and requirements of the President's policy" of non-discrimination with respect to Government contracts.

(5) For the Armed Forces, June 30, 1954 was earlier agreed upon as the time limit for the termination of remaining all-Negro units in the services. The program has proceeded ahead of schedule and there

CABINET PAPER

For Information



CABINET PAPER—PRIVILEGED

Property of the White House—For Authorized Persons Only

- 3 -

are no longer any all-Negro units in the Services. The number of Negro officers and enlisted men in attendance at Service schools has more than doubled.



Hospitals

(1) Segregation has been ended in all Veterans Administration Hospitals. The program to end such segregation began shortly after Mr. Harvey V. Higley became Administrator of Veterans Affairs in September 1953. A survey ordered by Mr. Higley showed that of VA's 166 installations there was some degree of segregation in 47 installations located in 23 states. Mr. Higley instructed the managers of these installations to end segregation as soon as possible. Today no segregation of any type is permitted in VA installations. The designation of color has been eliminated from all future VA hospitals and outpatient application forms as a result of an order approved February 4, 1954. See Veterans Administration Press Release dated October 27, 1954.

(2) The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reports that with respect to Public Health Service Hospitals in the South, its policy is that all services and facilities shall be available to all patients and employees without distinction as to race or color. The Department further advises that its desegregated program has been almost completely achieved and that what little remains to be done will have been completed not later than July 1, 1955.

Employment practices

(1) The problem of racially discriminatory practices in industry has been tackled by the Administration through the President's Committee on Government Contracts established pursuant to Executive Order 10479 of August 13, 1953. This Committee was set up to strengthen and enforce compliance with non-discrimination provisions required, by executive order, to be included in all Government contracts and sub-contracts. By Executive Order 10557 of September 3, 1954, pursuant to recommendation of the Committee on Government Contracts, the non-discrimination provision was revised "as a means of better explaining, the present nondiscrimination provision of Government contracts". The Committee, under the chairmanship of the Vice President, is engaged in an active program of implementation. It receives and considers complaints of discrimination, advises contracting agencies on appropriate enforcement measures, and cooperates with state, municipal, private, and voluntary agencies to effect non-discrimination. See pamphlet of the Committee, "Equal job opportunity is good business" (1954).

(2) Directed to the problem in the Government itself, the President, by Executive Order 10590 of January 18, 1955, established the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy. The function of this committee is to ensure adherence by all departments and agencies of the executive branch to the policy of non-discrimination in Government employment on account of race, color, religion, or national origin. Thus, the Committee is authorized to review cases and render advisory opinions thereon, and to make necessary inquiries and investigations. The executive order also imposes upon the head of each department and agency the express responsibility for effectuation of the policy of non-discrimination, including the promulgation of a hearing procedure for complaints and the designation of Employment Policy Officers. A vigorous implementation of Executive Order 10590 will do much to accomplish "the utilization of the individual Negro employee at his maximum potential". Cf. Integration in the Armed Forces, supra, pp.9-10.

CABINET PAPER

For Information

CABINET PAPER—PRIVILEGED

Property of the White House—For Authorized Persons Only



- 4 -

Facilities operated by or under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior

The Department of the Interior in connection with the use of public recreational facilities, the administration of Indian affairs, and the peoples of the territorial and island possessions, most of whom are not of the white race, does not sanction or permit racial segregation. The Department's regulations expressly prohibit such segregation. In addition, concessionaires operating facilities in areas under the Department's jurisdiction are required, by contract, to refrain from practicing or permitting racial segregation. Among such facilities are swimming pools, tourist lodgings, golf courses, eating facilities, and hotels. The Department has advised that its experience has shown that non-segregated operation of its facilities is not only practicable but has reduced racial tensions.

Airport facilities

The question of racial segregation in connection with airport facilities is one in which the Department of Commerce is interested. That interest arises in connection with airport facilities in areas of the South acquired by the United States and granted to states and municipalities under contracts providing that the grantees shall not impose unjust discriminations in the operation thereof. As a consequence of the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases the Commerce Department, in conjunction with the Attorney General, is undertaking to explore the possibility of whether the non-discrimination clause of the contracts can be utilized as a means for eliminating racial segregation at the airport facilities involved.

The District of Columbia

The situation in the District of Columbia may be summarized as follows: (1) Schools, see above; (2) as a result of the decision in the Thompson case (District of Columbia v. John R. Thompson Co., Inc., 346 U. S. 100 (1953)), segregation has been ended in restaurants, lunch rooms, and all other public eating-houses; (3) a non-discrimination clause is required in all District of Columbia contracts; (4) the Board of Recreation has abolished segregation throughout its facilities; (5) racial discrimination is prohibited in employment by the District Government and in the use of its facilities and services; extended to the fire-fighting division of the D. C. Fire Department, August 19, 1954, and (6) on December 7, 1954, steps were initiated to secure a judicial determination as to the enforceability of the provisions of the Act of the Legislative Assembly of 1872 and the ordinances promulgated by the Corporation of Washington in 1869 and 1870, other than those provisions applicable to restaurants. These additional provisions prohibit racial discrimination by proprietors of hotels, barber shops, bathing houses, and places of amusement. In this connection, it should be noted that segregation has been voluntarily abandoned by operators of motion picture theatres and, more recently, by major hotels.

Housing

In the area of housing it will be noted that the Housing and Home Finance Agency has reorganized and expanded its Racial Relations Service. There has been established a Coordination Committee on Racial Activities consisting of the top Racial Relations Officers of the HHFA and there has been created a racial relations post in each of the six regional offices of the HHFA (HHFA Press Release, January 10, 1955). The Administrator of the Agency has also taken steps to

CABINET PAPER

For Information

CABINET PAPER—PRIVILEGED

Property of the White House—For Authorized Persons Only

- 5 -

resolve the tensions and conflict incident to the racially-integrated operation of the Trumbull Park housing project in Chicago. After the admission of a few Negro families neighborhood violence broke out requiring police protection for the residents. The Administrator announced that he had asked for a conference with interested public and private leaders in an effort to bring an end to the abnormal conditions prevailing at the project (See Hampton Institute address of Albert M. Cole, HHFA Administrator, October 29, 1954). It must be stated, however, that the conference has not yet been held because of differences of opinion as to its proper scope.



CABINET PAPER

For Information

**UNCLASSIFIED**

SECRET
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 24, 1956

**PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
VIA LIAISON**

Honorable William H. Jackson
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Jackson:

There is enclosed, as of possible interest, Copy No. 7 of the monograph entitled "The Communist Party and the Negro."

This monograph is a study of the relationship between the Communist Party, USA, and the Negro people in the United States. It is a supplement to a previous monograph "The Communist Party and the Negro," which covered the period 1919-1952. The present volume embraces the 1953-1956 period and depicts the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to attract Negroes in the United States to its program.

Your attention is invited to the Summary and Conclusions which appear at the beginning of the monograph.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED

Authority

MAR 86 -281#3

By

LH

NLE Date

2/25/87

UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>PREFACE</u>	1
<u>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</u>	ii
A. Summary	ii
B. Conclusions	iii
<u>I. INTRODUCTION</u>	1
<u>II. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO QUESTION TODAY</u>	5
A. International Aspect.	5
B. The Negro in the Fight for Peaceful Coexistence	6
C. Negro "Self-Determination"	7
D. The Negro in Industry	10
E. Communist Party Colonization Program	13
F. Civil Rights	14
1. Supreme Court Decision Outlawing Segregation in Public Schools, May 17, 1954, and Subse- quent Rulings Affecting Publicly Owned Recre- ational Facilities and Interstate Transportation	14
a. Autherine J. Lucy	19
b. Bus Boycott in Montgomery, Alabama	21
2. The Till Case	23
3. Negro Representation	25
4. Housing	27
<u>III. PRINCIPAL COMMUNIST PARTY-NEGRO FRONT GROUPS</u>	30
A. National Negro Labor Council	30
B. National Association of Negro Trade Unionists	33



1.	Michigan Association of Negro Trade Unionists...	33
2.	Negro Trade Unionists Committee.....	35
3.	National Association of Negro Trade Unionists of New Jersey	35
4.	Amalgamation of these three organizations.....	36
IV.	<u>THE COMMUNIST PARTY -- NEGRO-FRATERNAL, PROTEST-AND-IMPROVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS</u>	37
A.	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	37
B.	Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World	44
V.	<u>RESULTS OF COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITY DIRECTED TOWARD NEGROES</u>	49
A.	Effects within the Communist Party (White Chauvinism)..	49
B.	Effects on Noncommunist Negroes (Negro Membership in the Communist Party)	52
VI.	<u>SOURCES</u>	54



~~SECRET~~

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE NEGRO 1953 - 1956



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

DECLASSIFIED

Authority ME 86-163 #1
By LKD NLE Date 2/21/86

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

THE COMMUNIST PARTY
AND
THE NEGRO

1953 -- 1956

October 1956

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director



56 S

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PREFACE

This monograph is a study of the relations between the Communist Party, USA, and the Negro people in the United States and is a supplement to a previous monograph The Communist Party and the Negro, which covered the period 1919-1952. The present volume embraces the 1953-1956 period. It has been compiled from public-source, confidential, and secret material.



~~SECRET~~

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA, despite its concentrated efforts, has failed to attract even a significant minority of the Negroes in the United States to its program. While it attempts to practice its policy of agitation and propaganda among the Negroes on a nationwide basis, the majority of its attention is devoted to those Negroes living in the Southern States. This has been particularly evident during the past year in that the Party has concentrated upon organizing the unorganized workers in the South, especially those of the Negro race.

It strives to promote its aims through Negro communist front organizations and by infiltrating and controlling legitimate Negro groups. One of its chief difficulties has been, and continues to be, the problem of white chauvinism, i. e., supremacy of the white race. At the present time, it can be stated that along with the decline in the national membership of the Communist Party, USA, the Party has experienced an increasingly greater decline, percentage wise, in its Negro membership.



B. Conclusions

1. The basic program of the Communist Party, USA, in relation to the Negro in the United States from 1928 to 1956 was defined in its two slogans: "equal rights" and "self-determination" for the Negroes in the "Black Belt," which is that portion of the Southern United States containing a large concentration of the Negro population. Communists asserted that the Negroes living in this area constituted a separate nation and should be given their rights accordingly. In early 1956, the Party modified its advocacy of "self-determination," but its general propaganda on "equal rights" and other issues remains essentially the same.
2. The activities of the Communist Party, USA, are motivated not by the desire to improve the status of the Negro in our society, but to exploit legitimate Negro grievances for the furtherance of communist aims.
3. Communists in the United States believe that the movement for Negro freedom in this country merges with the struggle of colonial peoples, particularly the darker races, to free themselves from their "oppressors." The Communist Party, USA, links this struggle with the fight for peaceful coexistence throughout the world.
4. The Communist Party, USA, places particular emphasis on getting the support of Negroes employed in basic industries. It now regards the job of organizing the unorganized workers, especially in the South, as one of its fundamental tasks.
5. The Party plans to advance its Negro program in the South through its colonization program which was initiated in order to place militant and devoted Party members as workers in basic or vital industries. Under this program, communists



selected for such assignments move to new areas, assume altered backgrounds and identities, obtain employments in industry, and gradually begin to organize people believed to be "progressive."

6. The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation in the public schools in the United States, is regarded by the Communist Party as a decisive victory for the Negro race, and the Party has attempted to implement and exploit the enforcement of desegregation in every possible way. The case most widely publicized by the communist press in this respect was that of Autherine J. Lucy, a Negro who was the first of her race to enroll in a hitherto all-white university.
7. The Communist Party has also exploited the alleged murder of a Negro youth in Mississippi using this case as an opportunity to further its agitation and propaganda campaign among the Negroes.
8. One of the main points in the Communist Party's program in its struggle for equal rights for Negroes is its attempt to increase Negro representation in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of state and national governments. Although the Party is conducting this struggle on a nationwide basis, its main emphasis is in the Southern States where Negro representation is disproportionate according to population.
9. The Communist Party, USA, strongly opposes segregation in housing, pointing out that this is one of the issues around which Negro-white unity can be built.
10. The two principal Communist Party-Negro front groups until recently were the National Negro Labor Council and the National Association of Negro Trade Unionists. At the end of April, 1956, the former was dissolved due to financial



difficulties and to its desire to circumvent registering with the Attorney General of the United States as a communist front organization. The latter is a comparatively new group whose purpose is to organize the unorganized workers, concentrating strongly on the Negroes.

11. Communists in the United States have attempted to infiltrate and gain control of legitimate Negro-fraternal, protest-and-improvement organizations. To date, their efforts have been unsuccessful on a state or national level, although there have been some instances where the Communist Party has gained control of isolated chapters.
12. The Communist Party, USA, has been compelled throughout its history to wage a continuing fight against white chauvinism, i. e., the supremacy of the white race. Despite this struggle, white chauvinism has increased within the Party in recent years and is presently of grave concern to Party leaders.
13. Negro membership within the Communist Party, USA, as of June, 1956, was estimated to be seven per cent of the total national membership of the Party. The total national membership was estimated at slightly less than 20,000.



~~SECRET~~

I. INTRODUCTION

A previous monograph The Communist Party and the Negro, dated February, 1953, covered the period 1919-1952. As indicated therein, the Communist Party, USA, has devoted an extraordinary amount of its time, funds, propaganda, and personnel to recruiting members from among the fifteen million Negroes who comprise approximately ten per cent of our total population. The failure of its efforts in this respect is best attested to by the fact that as of June, 1956, active, dues-paying Negroes constituted seven per cent of the total Party membership.

Its basic program in this field until recently has been set forth in its two slogans: "equal rights" and "self-determination" for the Negroes in the "Black Belt." The term "Black Belt" as used by communists refers to that portion of the Southern United States containing a large concentration of the Negro population. At varying intervals, depending on the extent of the Negro population, communists describe it as including parts of southern Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas. Marxists have maintained that the "Black Belt" contains all the necessary characteristics for becoming a separate nation and accordingly advanced the theory of "self-determination,"



~~SECRET~~

i. e., the formation of an independent national state for the Negroes in that area. Marxists, however, qualified this theory by stating that whenever the right of "self-determination" conflicted with the interests of the "working class" (e. g., the Communist Party, USA), it must be subordinated. This was evidenced during World War II when the Communist Party, USA, de-emphasized "self-determination" in order to promote national unity leading to greater aid to Soviet Russia.

Although the condition of the Negro in American society has improved during the last thirty years, the Communist Party, due to its subservience to and domination by the Soviet Union, has never recognized this fact and has continued to agitate among the Negroes on the same old themes. It has, therefore, stressed its demands for "equal rights" and "self-determination" with varying degrees of emphasis, governed not by any change in the status of the Negro in this country, but by the exigencies of the Soviet Union in international affairs.

In early 1956, however, the Communist Party, USA, reappraised its position on "self-determination" and decided to modify the advocacy of "self-determination" for the Negroes in the "Black Belt." While the Party



has altered its policy in this respect, its stand on "equal rights" for the Negro race in the United States remains unchanged.

Numerous reasons can be adduced to explain the failure of the Communist Party, USA, in spite of its almost overwhelming efforts, to attract even a significant minority of the American Negro population to its program. Probably the most obvious is the realization by the Negro (as well as the vast majority of Americans) that the constant shifts in the Communist Party "line" are determined by the needs of the Soviet Union and not by any factor intrinsic to the American way of life or by the Party's interest in Negro welfare. Other reasons, more specifically applicable to the Negro, include the Communist Party's previous espousal of the theory of "self-determination" (which is too similar to segregation for Negroes), in spite of the Negro's deep-rooted desire for total equality within the American society; its severe criticism of influential Negro clergymen, particularly during the late 1920's and early 1930's; its inability to justify Russia's aid to Italy when the latter invaded Ethiopia; its subversion of the National Negro Congress, which originally showed promise of becoming an important Negro improvement organization; its activities during World War II,



when it admittedly "soft-pedaled" its fight for Negro rights; and the opposition of influential noncommunist Negroes and Negro organizations.

The fact that the activities of the Communist Party, USA, are motivated not by the desire to improve the status of the Negro in our society, but to exploit legitimate Negro grievances for the furtherance of communist aims is clearly evidenced by instructions issued by the Party to its members as early as 1925 and repeatedly applied since then:

"The aim of our Party in our work among the Negro masses is to create a powerful proletarian movement which will fight and lead the struggle of the Negro race against exploitation and oppression in every form and which will be a militant part of the revolutionary movement of the whole American working class, to strengthen the American revolutionary movement by bringing into it the 11, 500, 000 Negro workers and farmers in the United States to broaden the struggles of the American Negro workers and farmers, connect them with the struggles of the national minorities and colonial peoples of all the world and thereby further the cause of the world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat." 1



II. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO QUESTION TODAY

A. International Aspect

The Communist Party, USA, hailed the conference of Asian and African peoples at Bandung, Indonesia, in April, 1955, as marking "the march forward of the once-subjected people of Asia and Africa," and as "one of the dicisive world forces that led to the constructive conference of the Big Four recently in Geneva." American communists believe that the movement for Negro freedom in the United States merges with the "struggle of the colonial and darker peoples of the Far East--as well as of Africa--against the common enemy--Wall Street imperialism." Louis E. Burnham, who has been reported to be a member of the Communist Party, * stated in December, 1955, that:

"This new world, so dramatically united at the historic Bandung conference, represents an irresistible force in world affairs. The movement for Negro freedom will win, not in isolation from, but only in conscious and principled alliance with all forces throughout the world who are its natural allies."²

One high-ranking communist leader, in speaking of the Negro people in the Southern United States, asserted:

*All information in this monograph identifying persons or organizations with the communist movement has been furnished by informants or sources which have supplied reliable information in the past.



" 'They are contributing to the lore of oppressed people all over the world in their struggle for liberation from the system of racism, terror, lynching, and assassination in the deep South. Undoubtedly, they are inspired by the great conference of colored peoples which took place in Bandung last summer.' "3

Claude Lightfoot, Negro communist leader in Illinois who was convicted under the Smith Act of 1940, * commented that:

" 'In recent years, the upsurge of the colonial people and the Chinese Revolution have had their effect in heightening the militancy and the consciousness among my people, ... and strengthened their unwillingness to accept the theory of "gradualism" in the winning of civil rights.' "4

B. The Negro in the Fight for Peaceful Coexistence

The Communist Party, USA, for the past several years has stressed the struggle for peace as one of the most important tasks for the communists in this country as well as throughout the world. Subsequent to the July, 1955, conference for foreign ministers of the United States, France, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. held in Switzerland, the Party re-emphasized the possibility of peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union. The conference itself, in the Party's analysis,

*Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2385 (1948 Edition), popularly known as the Smith Act, makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence. The Act was passed by Congress in 1940.



was a "turning point" and represented the "beginning of the end of the cold war."

In connection with the role of the Negro in this fight for peace, the Communist Party recognizes that the "Negro people exerts considerable strength in the fight for peace, especially in the context of its most direct and immediate concern--the fight for civil rights." The Party feels that:

"There can be no successful effort to involve great masses of the Negro people in the fight for peace which does not take this struggle as its starting point..."⁵

The Party further believes that:

"The second specific aspect of Negro peoples participation in the fight for peace is the special importance of the struggle against colonialism... vast possibilities exist to enlist the mass of Negro people in the mounting struggle to reverse the Dulles policy of military alliance in the Middle East and South Asia and substitute for it a policy of national freedom and peaceful coexistence and a vast plan of economic assistance, without strings, to the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa."⁶

C. Negro "Self-Determination"

During the period 1928-30, the Communist Party, USA, defined the Negro question in the United States as "that of an oppressed nation" in the "Black Belt"--struggling for "self-determination," and an oppressed national minority in other parts of the country--fighting for full democratic rights.



By "self-determination," the Party maintained that the Negroes as a separate race in the Southern States constituted a majority of the population and had the right, if they so desired, to secede from the United States and form their own government and nation.

This conception was adhered to and developed by the Party throughout the years so that by 1954 communists asserted that:

"This conception of the Negro question as a national question is the most fundamental theoretical* contribution our Party has made to the fight for Negro freedom. It is this insight, for example, which underlies the struggle for all-class unity of the Negro people, * and for alliance of the whole Negro people and the working class* in common struggle against imperialist oppression...." 7

In early 1956, however, the Communist Party, USA, reappraised its position on "self-determination" and decided to modify its advocacy of "self-determination" for the Negroes in the "Black Belt." However, it will still consider the Negroes as constituting a national as well as a racial minority. One high-ranking Negro communist leader has taken the position that the Negro people in the United States do not constitute a nation but instead are a nationality.

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, in commenting upon this decision, stated:

*Underlined portion italicized in original text.



"...In my opinion we should frankly acknowledge that while the Negro question in the Deep South remains a national and an agrarian question, for some time developments in the South have not* moved in the direction of the establishment of a Negro nation.

"The basic demands of the Negro people in the South, which they themselves put forward and are struggling for, are for the right to vote and representative government, for full equality in employment, education and in all other spheres of life, and for achieving serious reforms in agriculture.

"In re-appraising our position on self-determination in the Black Belt, our Party should emphasize, as never before, that the struggle for Negro rights and freedom, north and south of the Mason-Dixon line, has emerged as a general, national democratic task, upon the solution of which depends the democratic and social advance of the whole nation, particularly of the workers and farmers."⁸

It can be seen, therefore, that the Party has modified its policy of "self-determination." This is a major development in Negro matters for the Party. However, its general propaganda relating to "equal rights" and other issues remains essentially the same as does the ultimate goal of the Communist Party, USA, --the establishment of a socialist United States. In February, 1956, a member of the Party's national Negro commission stated:

"...It is generally known that the proletariat of a national movement has both a national and class mission to perform. This is likewise true of the Negro proletariat in our country. It has the task of leading the Negro people to national liberation, and, in conjunction with their fellow white workers, of putting an end to class exploitation by leading the American people to Socialism...."

*Underlined portion italicized in original text.



D. The Negro in Industry

Throughout its history, the Communist Party, USA, has placed particular emphasis on the importance of gaining the support of Negroes employed in basic industries. At the present time, the Party attaches the utmost significance to the merger of the AFL-CIO which took place on December 5, 1955. As far as the Negro problem is concerned, the Party claims that:

"The historic significance of the merger convention's position on the Negro question lies in the fact that it registered a major defeat for the racist policy of Gompersism; at the same time it registered a fundamental and basic victory for the policy of Negro-white unity, of advancing and strengthening the Negro-labor alliance, of a single trade-union center of all working people, white and Negro alike.

"Its significance is to be found in that after a century of bitter struggle, the decisive national center of organized labor is committed formally and officially to a line of Negro-white unity, to a line of equal rights for the Negro workers in industry as well as in the labor movement."*10

In this connection, the Party is referring specifically to the action of the convention regarding:

"... The resolution on civil rights, the speech by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, ** the speech of Carey on the civil rights resolution, the added statement in the speech

*Entire quotation italicized in original.

**National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.



of Adlai Stevenson in his criticism of the violence directed against the Negro people in Mississippi. And last, but not least, the election of two Negro vice Presidents to the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO.... "11

The Communist Party takes credit for the emergence of Negro leadership at the convention by stating:

"... The struggle for Negro leadership was a product in the first place of the consistent and sustained demands of the progressives and Communist forces in the labor movement for the last 20 years.... "12

Among the tasks now facing the Party as a result of the merger is that of backing a drive for organizing the unorganized workers particularly in the South.

"Of all the immediate tasks facing the AFL-CIO with respect to Negro-white unity none is more important than that of organizing the unorganized in the South.... The demand for organizing the South must reach a level of intensity that will result in the Federation's passing over from words to deeds on this question. "13

Other problems confronting the Party include:

1. "... an interpretation of the constitution to help end all bars to Negro workers in affiliated international unions.... "14
2. "... an end to Jim Crow locals.... "15
3. "... the need to rally support for the civil rights mobilization announced by the UAW* and the NAACP.... "16

*United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

In addition to advocating certain demands arising out of the AFL-CIO convention, the Communist Party continues to demand a policy of nondiscrimination for Negroes in industry. It claims that Negroes, in the great majority of cases, are only able to obtain positions as laborers, that there "has been no gain in breaking the 'last-to-be-hired, first-to-be-fired' pattern of discrimination against the Negro people."¹⁷

This is particularly true in the transport, garment, maritime, and electrical industries. Communists feel that:

"Special attention should be given to current efforts to squeeze Negro and Puerto Rican workers out of longshore and maritime...."

.
"The main channel* through which such struggles for jobs for Negroes can best be conducted is the machinery of the trade unions--especially the network of shop committees and the regular programs of the unions."¹⁸

They believe that the struggle to abolish Jim Crow in the railroad industry is of "prime importance" to the advancement of the fight for jobs and state that:

"... The basic aim of this fight must be to win equality for Negroes on every type of job which exists in the industry--conductors, ticket agents, locomotive engineers, firemen, brakemen, switchmen, station masters, head baggage men, clerks, dispatchers...."¹⁹

*Underlined portion italicized in original text.

E. Communist Party Colonization Program

One method by which the Communist Party hopes to advance its Negro program in the South is through its so-called colonization program. It anticipates a very difficult struggle in that area and, in the latter part of 1955, issued instructions that a number of people, both Negro and white, should be sent into the Southern States where they are to obtain industrial jobs. These potential colonizers are to be childless couples, preferably between 21 and 34 years of age. Any person having a reputation as a radical or a communist will not be considered. Selections are to be made, at least in part, from Party members presently active in Labor Youth League* work.

Those individuals chosen as colonizers are instructed to remain in their new assignment on a more or less permanent basis, "root" themselves in their new jobs, and for the present conceal their communist tendencies. They will be concentrated in the larger cities of the South especially Birmingham, Memphis, and cities in Mississippi.

Those colonizers assigned to the textile industry are to be financed, if possible, through their own means or supported by their

*The Labor Youth League has been designated by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

Communist Party district. The national office will, if necessary, defray any expenses. For a period of about one year, the colonizer is told to make no attempt to organize or recruit for the Communist Party but to spend this time establishing himself in the community. He is to become active in church and civic affairs thus establishing a good reputation in the community. He is not to have any open contact with the Party in that area nor to get a reputation as a Party member or sympathizer. By the end of a year, he is to begin to organize persons who he believes are "progressive."

Colonizers are expected to receive indoctrination courses prior to leaving for their assignments. It is reported that this colonization program has been started by the Party and that plans are being made to fix a certain quota of colonizers to be sent down South during 1956. Plans are also allegedly being made by the Party to have a number of their trustworthy youth members, who are attending college, transfer to colleges in the South to enable them to carry on Party work there.

F. Civil Rights

1. Supreme Court Decision Outlawing Segregation in Public Schools, May 17, 1954, and Subsequent Rulings Affecting Publicly Owned Recreational Facilities and Interstate Transportation

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States decreed that compelling segregation in the public schools on the basis of race is a



denial of constitutional rights. The doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities handed down by the Court in 1896 (Plessy v. Ferguson) was set aside. On May 31, 1955, the Supreme Court implemented this decision by stating the principle previously announced should be carried out "with all deliberate speed." This ruling permitted account to be taken of local conditions and requirements affecting the manner and timing of implementation. This principle was also found applicable in cases involving racial segregation in publicly owned recreational facilities, and adhered to in decisions of the Federal Interstate Commerce Commission embracing segregation in interstate transportation.

The Communist Party, USA, hailed the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court as a:

"...real victory for democracy in the United States, and especially for the harassed Negro people. It will have world-wide repercussions. The decision is body blow against the whole jimcrow system, which has for so many decades persecuted the Negro masses and disgraced this country. All the friends of freedom will hail this great democratic achievement."²⁰



The Party also took its share of credit for this achievement:

"The Supreme Court decision on segregation in education reflects the tremendous new growth in the Negro liberation movement. . . . It is due in no small part to the pioneering role of the Communists and the Left in the struggle for Negro rights."²¹

The Party pointed out, however, that a legal victory does not mean the automatic end of segregation but necessitates a drive for its enforcement:

"... The legal form does not correspond to the social actuality. The struggle for equal rights cannot rest with legal victories, important as they are, but must drive to enforce* such victories and change the conditions of day-to-day living."²²



In this connection, communists have attempted to implement and exploit the enforcement of desegregation in every possible way:

"... The struggle against segregation should be tied up with the struggle against jim crow in employment, for jobs for all, for equal work for whites and Negroes, for women as well as men, for ending jim crow in housing, for enactment of an FEPC, against fascism and McCarthyism, and for peace. Meetings should be held, demonstrations arranged under broad united front conferences. These meetings can be the beginning of the most popular and broadest coalition activity that our country has seen in a long time."

*Underlined portion italicized in original text.

"...Hundreds of trade union, church, professional, student, national-group and other organizations with predominantly white membership--including many in the South--are formally on record in support of the Court decision. The big need now is to get them all into motion.

"Petitions should be filed with the Supreme Court prior to the December 7th hearing on implementing decrees. Conferences and mass meetings should be organized. Resolutions should be adopted and publicized. Delegations should be sent to public officials on national, state and local levels....And every effort of reaction to organize mob violence should be countered with overwhelming mass protests by the democratic forces of the people."23



The Communist Party has been particularly vehement against opposition arising to the enforcement of segregation in the Southern States and has alleged lack of enforcement by Congress and Federal authorities. An editorial in the Daily Worker, east coast communist newspaper, in the latter part of 1955 declares:

"Most of the segregated schools which were declared illegal on May 17, 1954, and again on May 31, 1955, are still segregated. White supremacists, using legal technicalities and terror, including murder, have challenged the authority of the high court and federal law and order...."24

On January 12, 1956, in an editorial entitled "Dixiecrat Defiance," the Daily Worker asserted:

"State after state in the Deep South has announced its planned refusal to comply with a U.S. Supreme Court order. Brownell has pretended not to hear these threats, not even when they reached the level of a movement to 'nullify' all federal laws dealing with desegregation...."

.

"...The times cry out for an Attorney General with a passion for defense of the Constitution and the rights it bestows upon all citizens. Brownell, by his actions and his lack of action has proven beyond a doubt that he does not meet present requirements."²⁵

In March, 1956, 96 Southern Congressmen issued a manifesto pledging themselves to use "all lawful means" to reverse the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools. This manifesto was presented to both Houses of Congress and inserted in the Congressional Record.

The Daily Worker editorialized on this resolution by saying:

"This is the Dixiecrat attempt to roll back the democratic tide rising behind the movement to enforce the Supreme Court's rulings. These racists do not want 'moderation' or 'gradualism' or even reasonableness' in approaching the desegregation issue. They want nothing less than the perpetuation of the 'lawful means' by which they have ignored the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments."

.

"The 96 Congressmen have borrowed heavily from the secessionist documents of 1860 in drafting their declaration. Their arrogant attempt to intimidate Congress and the nation has not met with a resolute determination to enforce the Constitution and federal law everywhere in the United States. Let Congress pass civil rights laws. Compel Brownell to enforce the right to vote for southern Negroes! Push the Justice Department into actions to enforce the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions. Oust Eastland from the U.S. Senate. End the retreat before the Dixiecrat minority in Congress and the country at large."26

a. Autherine J. Lucy

Probably the case most widely publicized in both the communist and the free press of a Negro attempting to enroll in a hitherto all-white university is that of Autherine J. Lucy. Subsequent to the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court invalidating segregation, Miss Lucy was admitted to the University of Alabama by order of a U. S. District Court in Alabama. After attending the University for three days under full police protection, she was excluded from class by the board of trustees on February 6, 1956. This decision was made under the University's police power and for the protection of students, the faculty, and Miss Lucy in view of demonstrations by students and outsiders.

The communist press decried this action by University officials and demanded Federal action in the matter:

"It is a national disgrace that the university authorities have indefinitely barred Miss Lucy from the campus. This is craven surrender or, worse, collusion with the Kluxers. It is not Autherine Lucy but the wretched band of lawbreakers who should have been barred from Alabama University."

"And where is President Eisenhower amidst this violation of law? Silent, upon a farm in Gettysburg? And where are Attorney General Brownell and G-Man Hoover? Blind, as usual, to Dixiecrat defiance of the law?

"We are confident that a great outcry from the people will be heard in the White House, demanding federal action to carry out the law in Alabama."²⁷

Party members stated that the Communist Party would utilize every possible facility to create a national incident in connection with this matter.

On February 9, 1956, Miss Lucy filed a petition with a U.S. District Court in Alabama, asking the court to issue an order to show why the University board should not be held in contempt. She alleged that the suspension was not done for her personal safety but to appease others. On February 29, 1956, the District Court ruled that University officials were not in contempt of court; that the officials had acted in good faith in their attempts to protect Miss Lucy; and that her suspension from the University

should be lifted as of March 5, 1956. However, the University expelled Miss Lucy on March 1, 1956, on the basis that she had made false charges and allegations against University officials.

Benjamin J. Davis, a member of the national board of the Communist Party, USA, who had been convicted under the Smith Act of 1940, "rapped the expulsion of Autherine Lucy... and called for prosecution of the trustees who voted the action." He demanded:

"...enforcement of the Supreme Court decision of de-segregation and the arrest and prosecution of Eastland, Talmadge and 'the gang which controls the White Citizens Councils, and all others who conspire to keep the Negro people from enjoying rights guaranteed under the Constitution.' "28



b. Bus Boycott in Montgomery, Alabama

In early December, 1955, Negro leaders in Montgomery, Alabama, demanded equal rights for their race on segregated city buses. The issue was precipitated when a Negro seamstress refused to move to the rear of the bus, was arrested, and fined \$14. Immediately thereafter, Negroes instituted a boycott of the buses, causing police cruisers to escort the buses through Negro areas to prevent violence. On February 22, 1956, approximately one hundred Negro religious and political leaders in the Montgomery area were indicted on charges of violating a state antiboycott statute.

Communists immediately took up the defense of the Negro leaders and the boycott. Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party USA, urged Federal intervention, declaring that:

"...united response, courage and organizational inventiveness of the entire Negro community of Montgomery has electrified the whole country. It is giving birth to a movement of mass civil disobedience to unconstitutional jimcrow statutes, and mass civil enforcement of the law of the land..."

"All workers -- Left, progressive and conservative -- can be expected to join with the heroic Negro people and all other sincere advocates of the Constitution in full devotion to this historic struggle."²⁹

An editorial in the Daily Worker claimed that the Federal Government was:

"...duty bound, under law, to act against officials who, under cover of law, deprive citizens of their basic and federally guaranteed rights...."

"Meantime, it is up to all of us to bombard the Department of Justice for action before extra-legal violence follows illegal 'law.' If Montgomery is the Dixiecrats' first line of defiance, it is for patriots democracy's first line of defense."³⁰

Negro religious leaders sponsored a nationwide "Day of Prayer" to aid the boycott movement. The communist press exploited this situation wherever possible and said it:

"...marked a moral and social renaissance in American life stemming from the resistance of southern Negroes to racist tyranny."

.

"Maybe the millions who prayed last Wednesday will continue their efforts against segregation by pressing the President and federal agencies to act against those who illegally deny Negroes their rights as American citizens."31

In May, 1956, an incident, involving the arrest of two Negro college students for sitting beside a white woman in a bus, took place in Tallahassee, Florida, precipitating a similar Negro boycott of buses in that city.

2. The Till Case



The Communist Party, USA, has placed the utmost emphasis on propagandizing the alleged murder of Emmett Louis Till. Till, a fourteen-year-old Negro youth from Chicago, Illinois, was reportedly kidnapped and murdered in Mississippi, in August, 1955. The two white men charged with his murder were acquitted after a trial, and a grand jury later refused to indict them for kidnapping. The Party as well as its numerous front organizations regarded this case as an excellent opportunity to further its agitation and propaganda campaign among the Negroes. The Party press

has carried innumerable articles on the Till case and issued many pamphlets and leaflets regarding it, invariably referring to the case as the Till "lynching."

In September, 1955, the national administrative committee* of the Party issued a memorandum to all districts regarding the Till "lynching, pointing out that the marked increase of anti-Negro terror in the South should become the immediate concern of the entire Party membership. In this connection, the Party suggested (1) development of the movement to force the Eisenhower Administration to intervene in the Till case, (2) petitioning of city councils throughout the United States to urge the Attorney General to act, and (3) projecting the "struggle" into the preparation for the convening of Congress in 1956. The memorandum said that the above actions would necessitate hundreds of thousands of postcards, telegrams, letters, petitions, and resolutions to the President and the Attorney General from individuals and organizations.

The Daily Worker subsequently proclaimed:

"THE SAVAGE LYNCHING of the Till boy must be fought militantly. This has already been well begun by many demonstrations and other activities. . . . The whole American people should be aroused to the terrible outrage of this boy lynching.

*The national administrative committee is now dissolved. For over a year, this group largely directed the Party's open activities.

And, not the least important, this case should be publicized all over the world. Abroad it will get a powerful response from the democratic people, who already thoroughly hate the U.S. jimcrow system, with all its oppression, exploitation, and murder."³²

The Communist Party has attempted to enlist the support of any organization, communist or noncommunist, interested in this campaign. According to information originating from a communist spokesman, the Party was able to reach an agreement with leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on a plan of work. The Party regards the Till matter as a historical event and the turning point in the struggle for Negro liberation.

3. Negro Representation

One of the key points in the Communist Party program in its struggle for "Negro liberation" is its attempt to increase Negro representation in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of state and national governments. Party Voice, a bulletin issued by the New York State Communist Party, asserted that:

"The fight for Negro representation must become a major concentration throughout our Party; and our most immediate concern must be to win new advances in the fall elections of 1955. In the process, efforts should be made to lay the basis for still further gains in 1956."³³

Albert E. Blumberg, legislative director of the Communist Party, USA, who was convicted under the Smith Act of 1940, called for "sharply increased Negro representation in conventions, Congressional and other posts."34

The communist press hailed the appointment of J. Ernest Wilkins, an Assistant Secretary of Labor, as the "first time in history a Negro has been appointed to a sub-Cabinet post in the United States Government."35 But the communist press deplored the fact that in 1955 "there is still just one Negro judge in the entire federal court setup," suggesting that "it is time to revive pressure for a Negro U. S. Supreme Court judge when a vacancy occurs, as well as Negro federal judges at all levels."36

The fight for increased Negro representation includes the demands for:

"...abolition of the poll tax, federal protection of the right to register and vote, passage of an anti-lynching bill, and reduction of Congressional representation of States which deliberately disfranchise Negroes..."37

Although the Party proposes to conduct this struggle on a nationwide basis, its main emphasis is in the Southern States where Negro representation is disproportionate.* Pettis Perry, chairman of the national

*According to population .

Negro commission of the Communist Party, USA, and convicted under the Smith Act of 1940, pointed out that "in some states, especially in the South, the fight for Negro representaiton today must move from the general question of representation to that of proportional Negro representation."³⁸

The Communist Party's course calls for an immediate solution to this problem--an immediate increase in Negro representation. It decries the "gradual" approach claiming that it leads to "the gradual eclipse of Negro citizenship." Abner W. Berry, Negro affairs editor of the Daily Worker, in speaking of Senator Eastland of Mississippi, declared:

"...Eastland's very seat in the U.S. Congress is a result of the victory of that 'gradual' approach, for in 1875, Eastland's state had a mass of Negro voters. The Lieutenant Governor, the Superintendent of Education and a number of state legislators were Negroes. Today, 80 years later, there are none, and it is Eastland's intention that there will never be any more."³⁹

4. Housing

The Communist Party, USA, strongly opposes segregation in housing and points out that this is one of the issues around which Negro rights can be advanced and Negro-white unity built. The communist press propagandizes this situation whenever possible. The Worker, Sunday edition of the Daily Worker, in September, 1955, declared that:

"...Outside of discrimination in the field of employment and education...there is another big area in which minority groups--particularly Negroes--suffer grievous discriminations. This is in housing."

" 'Intrusion' of Negro families into white neighborhoods is still resented with threats of violence, stoning and riots. The Negro ghettos stand out like sore thumbs..."⁴⁰

In July, 1953, such a situation developed in the Trumbull housing development in Chicago, Illinois, a project operated by the Chicago Housing Authority. A Negro family moved into Trumbull Park which at that time had only white tenants. Shortly thereafter, periodic acts of vandalism began to occur in the project including breaking of windows of automobiles driven by Negroes. A police emergency plan was put into effect and a large number of police were detailed at the project on a 24-hour basis.

On August 20, 1953, a picket line of some forty persons demonstrated before the offices of the Chicago Housing Authority, opposing any move of the Authority to evict the Negroes from Trumbull Park. The pickets were led by a Communist Party member while other Party members were present in the picket line. Leaflets were distributed protesting eviction. The Civil Rights Congress was also reportedly interested in protesting any eviction in

this area. This organization has been designated as a communist front group coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

The Communist Party called for the development of an energetic campaign involving the organized labor movement in the area together with church groups and mass organizations. The campaign to be organized demanding an end to violence included:

1. A campaign around the elections seeking to influence all candidates to make this a major issue
2. Letters and telegrams to local and national public officials calling for prosecution of the violators of the law, use of the National Guard to protect the Negro people, and a grand jury investigation of the responsible individuals
3. Delegations to the mayor and aldermen
4. Letters to the press
5. Meetings of all possible mass organizations particularly among the trade-unions



The communist press in late 1955 demanded an immediate expansion of the "inadequate federal housing program," and insisted that "this program has to have guarantees written into the law that there will be no discrimination as to occupancy."⁴¹

III. PRINCIPAL COMMUNIST PARTY-NEGRO FRONT GROUPS

A. National Negro Labor Council

Until the Spring of 1956, the principal communist-Negro front group in the United States was the National Negro Labor Council (NNLC). It was organized in October, 1951, at Cincinnati, Ohio, with the support of the Communist Party, USA. The Party urged "all out support" for the program of the NNLC which included the following points:

1. A nationwide drive for 100,000 additional jobs for Negro workers, with particular emphasis on jobs for Negro women
2. A campaign to solicit a million signatures petitioning for a national Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC)
3. Universal adoption of a "Model FEPC Contract Clause" in every union contract with management guaranteeing hiring, upgrading, promotion, on-the-job training, et cetera, without discrimination
4. A pledge to work with other Negro rights organizations in an attempt to influence the trade-union movement to support demands for abolition of the poll tax, antilynch legislation, official union action against police brutality and other invasions of the rights of Negro union members, and integrated housing

At its founding convention, the NNLC adopted resolutions calling for trade-union organization in the South on the basis of absolute equality,

freedom, and "self-determination" for oppressed colonial peoples throughout the world, and an end to the so-called United States policy of supporting colonial "oppressors."

During its existence, the NNLC directed campaigns against discriminatory practices engaged in by certain major industries in the United States. These included a drive to win better positions for Negro women in Sears, Roebuck and Company, an attempt to obtain jobs for Negroes as pilots, stewardesses, ticket clerks, et cetera, in the airlines, and a national campaign to upgrade Negroes in the railroad industry.

Beginning in 1953, the NNLC attempted to promote a non-discriminatory hiring policy among certain large industrial plants being built in Louisville, Kentucky. Using the slogan, "Let Freedom Crash the Gateway to the South," the NNLC advanced its campaign on a nationwide scale through newspaper advertisements, petitions, delegations, and leaflets. The NNLC also filed a complaint against one of the plants involved with the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

In connection with the merger of the AFL-CIO, the NNLC sent an "open letter" to the heads of these organizations demanding an unequivocal

equal-membership-rights constitutional provision and the election of Negro trade-unionists to top offices in the new organization. One hundred thousand copies of this "open letter" were distributed and circulated nationally.

While the main sources of funds of the NNLC were membership dues, contributions from members, and contributions and the sale of literature at meetings and rallies, it did obtain considerable financial support on certain occasions from so-called left-wing trade-unions such as the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UERMWA). *

In January, 1954, the NNLC was designated by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450. On September 28, 1955, the Attorney General, under the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order to require the NNLC to register as a communist front organization. The order was granted and a petition served against the NNLC. A hearing was set for April 30, 1956, for the NNLC to appear before the Subversive Activities Control Board. However, on April 29, 1956, the NNLC voted to dissolve itself.

*UERMWA was expelled from the CIO in 1949 on the grounds that it was communist dominated.

While increasing financial difficulties were a factor, the principal reason for the dissolution was to circumvent the Government's attempt to compel the NNLC to register with the Attorney General. Coleman A. Young, executive secretary of the NNLC, commenting on the dissolution, said:

" 'We are unwilling to subject our thousands of members and supporters, who are innocent of any wrongdoing, to the loss of jobs, blacklisting, and other forms of persecution entailed in the registration requirements of the unconstitutional McCarran Internal Security Act. . . .'"⁴²

B. National Association of Negro Trade Unionists

1. Michigan Association of Negro Trade Unionists

The Michigan Association of Negro Trade Unionists (MANTU) was organized in 1955 in Detroit for the purpose of seeing a Negro placed on the international executive board of the AFL-CIO. In November, 1955, it was reported that if MANTU materialized on a national basis the National Negro Labor Council would dissolve and would be replaced by the Michigan Association of Negro Trade Unionists.

MANTU held a conference in November, 1955, in Detroit, at which several hundred were present from about eight different states. This conference concerned itself with Negro rights in the AFL-CIO merger and adopted the following four resolutions:

1. Resolution on Negro representation and membership rights dealing with agitation for a Negro representative on the merged executive board of the AFL-CIO
2. Resolution on organization for the purpose of initiating such action as would result in the advancement of the principles of democracy and Negro rights in the trade-union movement, particularly with regard to the AFL-CIO merger
3. Resolution on an all-out drive to organize the Southern workers on an equal rights basis
4. Resolution on the Till case characterizing it "as part of the great struggle for democratic rights and trade-union organizations now being waged in the South"

A high-ranking Communist Party leader in commenting on this conference stated that approximately 20-30 Party members were present but remained in the background. He declared that the Negro trade-union movement at this time was not under the control or influence of the Communist Party, but that the Party planned to develop it as the merger of the AFL-CIO progressed.

On April 29, 1956, the same day on which the NNLC was dissolved, MANTU held another conference in Detroit at which permanent officers were elected. William Henry Johnson, recording secretary of Local 600, UAW, AFL CIO, was elected president, and Nat Turner, executive vice president. David William Moore, a member of the Communist Party, was elected organizational director.

2. Negro Trade Unionists Committee

Another Negro trade-union group was formed in October, 1955, in New York City under the title of Negro Labor Unionists Committee, later changed to Negro Trade Unionists Committee (NTUC). This organization was reportedly the result of a meeting of Negro leaders present at the UERMWA national convention held in September, 1955. The NTUC was designed as a national organization and was subdivided into ten groups throughout the country. Its chief purpose was to guarantee full and equal membership rights for Negroes and minority groups in the AFL-CIO and to fight for trade-union organization of both Negroes and whites in the Southern States.

The NTUC proposed to advance its aims by mass distribution of leaflets throughout the United States and to foster recognition of these aims through churches and fraternal organizations.

3. National Association of Negro Trade Unionists of New Jersey

In the early part of 1956, another group with similar aims and purposes was formed in New Jersey under the name of the National Association of Negro Trade Unionists of New Jersey.

4. Amalgamation of These Three Organizations

These three organizations held a national steering committee conference in Detroit, Michigan, on February 24 and 25, 1956, and adopted the name National Association of Negro Trade Unionists. A statement was adopted indicating the purpose of the group is to organize the unorganized workers, concentrating strongly on the Negroes.

Two committees were established, a resolutions committee and a constitutional committee. The former endorsed a civil rights conference scheduled for March, 1956, under the sponsorship of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other supporting groups.



IV. THE COMMUNIST PARTY -- NEGRO-FRATERNAL, PROTEST- AND-IMPROVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

A. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is unquestionably the most important agency for the Negro people in the United States "in their struggle against caste." It was started on the initiative of a group of white citizens who in 1909 called a conference, supported by both Negroes and whites, to organize a "national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."

In 1910, this group merged with the Niagara Movement (formed in 1905 by a group of Negroes who urged protest rather than accommodation in an effort to secure equal rights for the Negroes) to form the NAACP with the objective of winning full equality for the Negro as an American citizen.

The national office of the NAACP in New York City supervises the work of approximately 1,355 branches, youth councils, and college chapters located throughout 41 states, the District of Columbia, and Alaska. While the leadership of the NAACP has always been interracial, the majority of its membership, which is largely confined to upper-class

Negroes, is practically all Negro. According to a report of the 47th annual convention of the NAACP held in June, 1956, this organization reached a new high of 309,000 members with gains concentrated in the South. Income soared to a record \$635,000. In addition to its official publication, The Crisis, it publishes literature on various aspects of the Negro question.

The major portion of its work is carried out through its national office which keeps a constant check on Negro rights and attempts to secure passage of favorable state and Federal legislation. In a broad sense, the NAACP strives to create favorable publicity for the Negro and air his grievances before the American public. In recent years, it has shifted its emphasis from the defense of the Negro to a more offensive position in his behalf.

Throughout the years, the Communist Party, USA, has tried to infiltrate and gain control of the NAACP, using tactics consistent with Party policy during its alternate militant and "united front" periods. It recognizes the NAACP as "the most important Negro organization, dedicated to the fight for Negro equality." At a national conference of the Communist Party, USA, held in 1953, a statement was issued to the effect that:

"... The N. A. A. C. P. is increasingly becoming a coordinating center for all major organizations among the Negro people, and the pivot for the further advancement of the Negro-labor alliance...."43

Accordingly, the Party instructed all of its Negro members to join established Negro people's organizations including the NAACP:

"...the time has come to put an end to the self-imposed isolation from the Negro community of key Negro cadres. We must insist that all Negro Party members, without exception, develop and strengthen their ties with the organized sections of the Negro community."44

The Communist Party has had a certain measure of success in controlling isolated chapters of the NAACP but has been unable to secure domination of the organization on a state or national level. The NAACP is alert to those instances where communist control has been effected. At its 41st national convention held in June, 1950, the NAACP went on record as opposing communism and empowered its board of directors to revoke the charter of any chapter found to be communist controlled. In June, 1955, it reaffirmed its stand against communism, calling it an anti-democratic way of life, and warned its branches to be constantly alert against communist infiltration.

Persons identified with the Communist Party and the NAACP have, in the past, acted jointly and frequently engaged in parallel activities. However,

must be kept in mind that the ultimate aims of these two groups are entirely distinct. The Communist Party seeks to foster discord and discontent among the Negro race by agitation and propaganda in order to facilitate the rise of socialism in the United States, whereas the goal of the NAACP is to achieve full racial integration and equality within the present form of Government. * One recent instance in which the two organizations reportedly cooperated was in the Till case which has been previously described. According to information originating from a communist spokesman, the Party was able to reach an agreement with leaders of the NAACP on a plan of work. The NAACP has taken an extremely aggressive stand in the Till case and has sponsored numerous rallies and meetings in protest against the death of Till and the conduct of the trial in Mississippi. The Communist Party has afforded the Till case continued attention, constantly urging the Department of Justice to intervene, and agitating for a mass march on Washington, D. C., to enforce its demands.

In recent years, the NAACP has actively campaigned for desegregation in housing, at public beaches and amusement centers, in transportation, and in the television industry. The Supreme Court decision

* It is to be noted that the Communist Party, USA, in order to confuse the American people, is attempting to make its policies parallel to those of the NAACP on controversial, racial issues.

against school segregation in May, 1954, was acclaimed by the NAACP as the high point for civil rights during that year. At its 44th national convention held in 1953, the NAACP promulgated the slogan "Free by '63" which launched a program to win total integration of Negroes by 1963, the one-hundredth anniversary of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. The Communist Party has given considerable publicity to all of these issues and has attempted to further them whenever possible.

In March, 1956, a national conference on civil rights, attended by 1,500 delegates, was held in Washington, D. C., under the sponsorship of the NAACP and other supporting organizations. Its over-all objective was to bring to the attention of Congress the following program, certain measures of which, if enacted into law, would:

1. Create job equality through the establishment of an effective Federal FEPC.
2. Withhold Federal funds from any institution which defies the constitutional prohibition against segregation in public facilities
3. Make lynching and other race-inspired acts of violence Federal offenses
4. Abolish the poll tax and create protection of the right to vote

5. Establish a civil rights division in the Department of Justice with authority to protect civil rights in all sections of the country
6. Create a permanent Federal Commission on Civil Rights
7. Eliminate remaining segregation and other forms of discrimination in interstate travel

Activities of the conference included briefing on how delegates should conduct themselves when contacting congressmen; speeches on the need for additional civil rights legislation; talks by individuals from Southern States who were allegedly victims of civil rights violations; speeches by representatives of the Democratic and Republican Parties; and contacts with congressmen with a report session on results of contacts with congressmen.

The Communist Party considered this conference to be very significant. Furthermore, at a prior meeting of the Party's national Negro commission, Party leaders had declared that the principal task of the Party was to influence this mobilization of the NAACP. Delegates to the conference were screened by the NAACP, but the Party attempted to gain acceptance of a form of observer status so that persons other than approved delegates

could participate. The Party favored a program including support for proposals by Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell of New York and Charles C. Diggs of Michigan to unseat the Mississippi representation in Congress; support for all civil rights, desegregation, and antipoll tax legislation; attacks against Attorney General Brownell; and a fight for a new enforcement order from the Supreme Court for desegregation.

Seven Party functionaries are known to have attended various sessions of the conference as spectators since none of them had been able to obtain authorized credentials. Communist literature such as the Daily Worker and a pamphlet entitled Behind the Lynching of Emmett Louis Till was distributed outside conference sessions.

The Party was quite disgruntled at its extremely limited role in the conference as was evidenced by Abner W. Berry in his column "On the Way, " in the Daily Worker:

"...the assembly leadership caused unnecessary griping and confusion by applying too much zeal in keeping delegations small blocking all attempts to discuss issues and in insisting upon injecting the alien note of anti-Communism."45

However, Berry pointed out that "the movement for civil rights was able to surmount these political diversions and make its imprint on the official mind of Washington."46

The NAACP held its 47th annual convention in San Francisco, California, from June 26 to July 1, 1956. It reaffirmed its anti-communist position and at the same time extended its policy of non-cooperation with communist-controlled groups to declare communists ineligible for membership in the NAACP. The NAACP also added the National Association of Negro Trade Unionists to its list of labor groups forbidden cooperation with the NAACP.

B. Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World

The Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World (IBPOE of W) was organized in 1898 as a fraternal organization for Negroes with the following objectives:

1. Promote better citizenship among Negroes
2. Promote better relations between Negroes and the Caucasian race
3. Provide an educational program for the enlightenment of the Negro and establish scholarships as awards to deserving individuals for furtherance of their education in specialized fields
4. Promote the general health, welfare, and status of the Negro through Christian principles, doctrines, and teachings based upon the American way of life



5. Establish a fraternal organization to provide for economic, social, and recreational facilities for Negroes

The IBPOE of W is an entirely separate organization from the well-known Benevolent Protective Order of Elks (BPOE).

Lodges of the IBPOE of W exist in practically every major city in the United States, each lodge having a women's auxiliary section known as Temples. Affairs of the organization are handled by the office of the grand secretary in Washington, D. C., assisted by the grand exalted ruler in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The IBPOE of W issues a publication known as the Washington Eagle published in Washington, D. C.

Prior to the 55th national convention of this organization held in Chicago, Illinois, in August, 1954, the Communist Party, USA, was said to be in the process of establishing a policy accelerating its infiltration of the IBPOE of W. At that time, 21 Party members were reportedly affiliated with the IBPOE of W although none held a top office.

The Communist Party fraction of the IBPOE of W held a pre-convention caucus at which it was decided that Party work in this organization should proceed slowly and should concentrate on the civil liberties, legislative, and educational committees. Meetings were held in New York

City and Chicago prior to and during the convention for the purpose of establishing the precise Communist Party policy to be followed during the convention. Pettis Perry, chairman of the Party's national Negro commission, was the "guiding light" in effectuating this Party policy. Party members felt that they were successful at the convention in that (1) all officers they backed were successful, (2) every member was acceptable to the other state delegates, and (3) the resolutions they wanted passed by the convention were incorporated into the final convention resolutions. These resolutions dealt with such issues as discrimination in industry, FEPC, segregation in schools, peace, outlawing of the poll tax, and others, which matters are of vital interest to all Negroes whether Communist Party members or not. Consequently, it cannot be stated that these resolutions were communist inspired.

Meetings of a number of Communist Party members were again held preceding the 56th annual convention of the IBPOE of W the following year. Discussion centered around the development of a joint program between the NAACP and the Negro Elks relative to FEPC, integration and the right to vote in the South, and Negro representation at all levels of

government, as well as arousing interest of state delegates at the convention in resolutions dealing with civil liberties, political action, the Walter-McCarran Act, and unity between the IBPOE of W and the NAACP.

The report of the resolutions committee for the 1955 IBPOE of W convention included resolutions against discrimination in employment, housing, Negro representation, and transportation, and commended the NAACP for its efforts in implementing the United States Supreme Court decision against school segregation.

During early 1955, the national administrative committee of the Communist Party issued a memorandum defining certain tasks for Party members and any other individuals concerned with the struggle for Negro rights. This document pointed out that the primary organizations through which these tasks could be achieved are the established mass organizations of the Negro people and joint Negro-white membership including the Negro Elks.

Communist infiltration into this organization can be exemplified by one communist couple who joined the IBPOE of W upon the direct orders of the Communist Party. The wife was initiated into the women's auxiliary of the Negro Elks in March, 1955, her husband having been a member of

the Elks for several months. In the latter part of April, 1955, she reportedly was actively engaged in a fund-raising drive for her auxiliary. By August, 1955, she was advancing in the Elks organization due to her diligent efforts. Her husband was also persevering in his activity in the Elks and in the latter part of 1955 was elected chairman of the civil liberties committee of his lodge. In July, 1955, the Communist Party reportedly had 88 of its members in the IBPOE of W as contrasted with 21 in 1954.



V. RESULTS OF COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITY DIRECTED
TOWARD NEGROES

A. Effects within the Communist Party (White Chauvinism)

Although the Communist Party has consistently advocated full social, political, industrial, economic, and political equality for the Negroes, the application of certain facets of this policy within its own organization must be considered.

The Communist Party, USA, has frequently elected or appointed Negroes, at least nominally, to positions of authority. Two Negroes, Henry Winston and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., were members of its national committee prior to their convictions in 1949 for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940. Three other Negroes, James E. Jackson, Claude Lightfoot, and Pettis Perry were alternate members of the Party's national committee. All three have been convicted of violation of the Smith Act, and Jackson and Perry are presently serving sentences under this conviction. In addition, Negroes have frequently held other positions of importance in the communist movement. Doxey A. Wilkerson is a former member of the Party's national committee and is presently instructor and

director of faculty and curriculum at the Jefferson School of Social Science which has been designated as a communist front organization coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450. Abner W. Berry is also a former member of the national committee and is presently Negro affairs editor of the Daily Worker, east coast communist newspaper.

Yet, in spite of this and the voluminous publicity which it has given its slogan of equal rights for the Negroes, the Communist Party throughout its history has had to wage a continuing fight against what it describes as "white chauvinism," or "white supremacy."* In 1953, the Communist Party declared that "in recent years the Party has waged an intensive fight against expressions of white chauvinism within the Party. We must continue this fight."** It noted, however, that the "past two years have witnessed a noticeable decline in the struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro rights in a number of key districts. In several respects this is also true on a national scale."⁴⁷

*Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition, Unabridged, 1955, defines chauvinism as "the sentiments or disposition of a chauvin; hence vainglorious or exaggerated patriotism."

**Italicized in original text.

In 1954, William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, USA, pointed out that the Party's struggle against chauvinism must be combined with the fight against Negro bourgeois nationalism. He stated:

"While the Communist Party militantly combats white chauvinism as the worst ideological menace to Negro-white co-operation and solidarity, it does not ignore the lesser danger of Negro bourgeois nationalism as a divisive force. It fights on both fronts. Bourgeois-nationalist ideology 'is the instrument through which the Negro petty bourgeois leaders, posing as champions of general "race" interests, i.e., the interests of the whole Negro people, seek to rally them in support of the narrow class interests of the Negro bourgeoisie.' It manifests itself in a two-fold way: in reformist illusions of automatic integration into white institutions and, consequently, in the idea that there is no need to struggle against the white oppressors; or in sectarian, isolationist policies of segregationism. In both cases it is a surrender to white supremacy."⁴⁸

In 1955, Foster further declared that:

"...there are more than a few traces of white chauvinism even in our own ranks, although our Party is far in advance of other organizations as to being free of this poison. The fight against white chauvinism is one we must make constantly, not only among the white masses, but also in our own Party...."⁴⁹

The national committee of the Communist Party, USA, held an enlarged meeting in New York City on April 28-May 1, 1956. While there, several of the Party's Negro leaders criticized previous Party policy in the field of Negro activities. They complained because there were so few Negroes

and no Negro women present at this meeting. They charged that the Party had failed to eliminate white chauvinism and urged that another meeting be held in the near future to deal exclusively with the Negro question.

To alleviate this situation, one western district of the Communist Party recommended that county committees should evaluate their Negro work by discussions with various Negro Party members; Negro committees should be established to analyze work in Negro communities; and each area should be examined for its activity in community organizations, trade-union and its educational programs.

B. Effects on Noncommunist Negroes (Negro Membership in the Communist Party)

Throughout its history, the Communist Party, USA, has constantly endeavored to increase its Negro membership. According to William Z. Foster, the highest percentage of Negro membership in the Communist Party was attained in 1947 when it totaled 17 per cent of the entire national membership.

Along with the decline of the national membership since 1948, the Communist Party has experienced an even greater decline, percentage-wise, in its Negro membership. At a national conference of the Party

~~SECRET~~

held in 1953, a report was given on the Party's work among Negroes. The report asserted that in recent years there had been a decline in Negro membership and noted the reasons therefor:

"...The attacks upon our Party by the white ruling class, the concessions, even though few, thrown in the direction of Negro reformists, the growth of Red-baiting influences among Negroes, and the lack of sufficient struggle by the Party to adjust to these new developments, have, among other causes, contributed to this decline...."50

In November, 1954, the New York State Communist Party, which is the largest district in the country, commented on the loss of Negro members, giving as the reasons for this decline, the attacks made against the Party and the failure of Party clubs, sections, and higher bodies to maintain their vanguard communist role of militant struggle in behalf of Negro rights.

As of June 30, 1956, the Negro membership of the Communist Party, USA, was reliably estimated to be seven per cent of the total national membership of the Party. The total national membership was estimated at slightly less than 20,000. The Party's Negro membership is in marked contrast to 1947 when there were nearly 13,000 Negroes, or 17 per cent, in the total national membership of the Party of 75,400.

- 53 -

~~SECRET~~

SOURCES

1. The Fourth National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, (Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago), 1925, p. 123.
2. Louis E. Burnham, Behind the Lynching of Emmett Louis Till (Freedom Associates, Inc., New York), December, 1955, pp. 13-14.
3. Augusta Strong, "Former Harlem Councilman Gives His Views," The Worker, March 11, 1956, p. 3.
4. Carl Hirsch, "A Negro Communist Looks at the Future," The Worker, February 19, 1956, p. 7-S.
5. Max Weiss, "Geneva and '56," Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 17.
6. Ibid., pp. 17-18.
7. Party Voice, February, 1954, Vol. 1, No. 11, p. 3.
8. Eugene Dennis, The Communists Take A New Look (New Century Publishers, New York), 1956, p. 44.
9. Edward E. Strong, "Developments in the Negro-Labor Alliance," Political Affairs, February, 1956, p. 50.
10. Ibid., p. 37.
11. Hal Simon, "The Labor Merger," Political Affairs, January, 1956, pp. 51-52.
12. Ibid., p. 52.
13. Edward E. Strong, op. cit., p. 43.

14. Hal Simon, op. cit., p. 63.
15. Id.
16. Id.
17. Party Voice, op. cit., p. 10.
18. Party Voice, February, 1955, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 6.
19. Hugh Bradley, Next Steps in the Struggle for Negro Freedom, (New Century Publishers, New York), 1953, p. 39.
20. William Z. Foster, "The Supreme Court and Segregation," Daily Worker, May 20, 1954, p. 3.
21. Pettis Perry, "The November Elections and the Struggle for Jobs, Peace, Equal Rights, and Democracy," Political Affairs, September, 1954, p. 32.
22. Samuel Sillen, "Our Time," Masses & Mainstream, June, 1954, p. 5.
23. The Editors and Israel Amter, "The Fight for Desegregation," Party Voice, November, 1954, pp. 11, 12.
24. Editorial, Daily Worker, November 9, 1955, p. 5.
25. Editorial, Daily Worker, January 12, 1956, p. 5.
26. Editorial, Daily Worker, March 13, 1956, p. 5.
27. Editorial, Daily Worker, February 8, 1956, p. 5.
28. Roosevelt Ward, "Ben Davis Expulsion of Miss Lucy," Daily Worker, March 2, 1956, p. 2.
29. Eugene Dennis, "Dennis Urges Gov't Disarm Racist Subversion," Daily Worker, February 29, 1956, pp. 1, 8.

30. Editorial, Daily Worker, February 27, 1956, p. 5.
31. Editorial, Daily Worker, March 30, 1956, p. 5.
32. William Z. Foster, "Lynching and Strike Violence," Daily Worker, October 19, 1955, p. 5.
33. Party Voice, June, 1955, Vol. 3, No. 6, p. 16.
34. Albert E. Blumberg, "The '56 Elections," Political Affairs, January, 1956, p. 31.
35. Editorial, Daily Worker, March 9, 1954, p. 5.
36. Editorial, Daily Worker, July 7, 1955, p. 5.
37. Louis E. Burnham, op. cit., p. 15.
38. Pettis Perry, "The Negro People in the Struggle Against McCarthyism," Political Affairs, May, 1954, p. 32.
39. Abner W. Berry, "On the Way," Daily Worker, February 21, 1956, p. 5.
40. James Dolsen, "GOP Senators Hold UP Bill to Stop Discrimination in Housing," The Worker, September 11, 1955, p. 15.
41. Editorial, Daily Worker, September 7, 1955, p. 5.
42. "Dissolve Negro Labor Council," Daily Worker, May 1, 1956, p. 3.
43. Hugh Bradley, op. cit., p. 11.
44. Ibid., p. 19.
45. Abner W. Berry, "On the Way," Daily Worker, March 13, 1956, p. 5.

46. Id.
47. Hugh Bradley, op. cit., pp. 45, 46.
48. William Z. Foster, The Negro People in American History
(International Publishers, New York), 1954, p. 545.
49. William Z. Foster, "Notes on the Struggle for Negro Rights,"
Political Affairs, May, 1955, p. 31.
50. Hugh Bradley, op. cit., p. 45.



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA, despite its concentrated efforts, has failed to attract even a significant minority of the Negroes in the United States to its program. While it attempts to practice its policy of agitation and propaganda among the Negroes on a nationwide basis, the majority of its attention is devoted to those Negroes living in the Southern States. This has been particularly evident during the past year in that the Party has concentrated upon organizing the unorganized workers in the South, especially those of the Negro race.

It strives to promote its aims through Negro communist front organizations and by infiltrating and controlling legitimate Negro groups. One of its chief difficulties has been, and continues to be, the problem of white chauvinism, i. e., supremacy of the white race. At the present time, it can be stated that along with the decline in the national membership of the Communist Party, USA, the Party has experienced an increasingly greater decline, percentage wise, in its Negro membership.



B. Conclusions

1. The basic program of the Communist Party, USA, in relation to the Negro in the United States from 1928 to 1956 was defined in its two slogans: "equal rights" and "self-determination" for the Negroes in the "Black Belt," which is that portion of the Southern United States containing a large concentration of the Negro population. Communists asserted that the Negroes living in this area constituted a separate nation and should be given their rights accordingly. In early 1956, the Party modified its advocacy of "self-determination," but its general propaganda on "equal rights" and other issues remains essentially the same.
2. The activities of the Communist Party, USA, are motivated not by the desire to improve the status of the Negro in our society, but to exploit legitimate Negro grievances for the furtherance of communist aims.
3. Communists in the United States believe that the movement for Negro freedom in this country merges with the struggle of colonial peoples, particularly the darker races, to free themselves from their "oppressors." The Communist Party, USA, links this struggle with the fight for peaceful coexistence throughout the world.
4. The Communist Party, USA, places particular emphasis on getting the support of Negroes employed in basic industries. It now regards the job of organizing the unorganized workers, especially in the South, as one of its fundamental tasks.
5. The Party plans to advance its Negro program in the South through its colonization program which was initiated in order to place militant and devoted Party members as workers in basic or vital industries. Under this program, communists



selected for such assignments move to new areas, assume altered backgrounds and identities, obtain employments in industry, and gradually begin to organize people believed to be "progressive."

6. The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation in the public schools in the United States, is regarded by the Communist Party as a decisive victory for the Negro race, and the Party has attempted to implement and exploit the enforcement of desegregation in every possible way. The case most widely publicized by the communist press in this respect was that of Autherine J. Lucy, a Negro who was the first of her race to enroll in a hitherto all-white university.
7. The Communist Party has also exploited the alleged murder of a Negro youth in Mississippi using this case as an opportunity to further its agitation and propaganda campaign among the Negroes.
8. One of the main points in the Communist Party's program in its struggle for equal rights for Negroes is its attempt to increase Negro representation in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of state and national governments. Although the Party is conducting this struggle on a nationwide basis, its main emphasis is in the Southern States where Negro representation is disproportionate according to population.
9. The Communist Party, USA, strongly opposes segregation in housing, pointing out that this is one of the issues around which Negro-white unity can be built.
10. The two principal Communist Party-Negro front groups until recently were the National Negro Labor Council and the National Association of Negro Trade Unionists. At the end of April, 1956, the former was dissolved due to financial



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 6, 1955

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY COURIER SERVICETill, EmmettHonorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Anderson:

A confidential informant of the Chicago, Illinois, Office of this Bureau, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Communist Party functionaries in Chicago have been conferring with Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the Illinois-Indiana District, Communist Party, USA, and will launch a huge campaign protesting the killing of the 14-year-old Chicago Negro boy, Emmett Louis Till, whose body was found near Money, Mississippi, on August 28, 1955.

This campaign will take the form of statements and leaflets issued by the Communist Party, the Civil Rights Congress, and other Communist front groups. The Communist Party will also use its influence in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has already been aroused over this slaying. The campaign will also involve letters, telegrams and statements to President Eisenhower demanding the firing of Attorney General Herbert Brownell for failure to enforce provisions of the United States Constitution in the State of Mississippi. The campaign will involve a scathing condemnation of police officials in the State of Mississippi and will be designed to show that full equality for all races does not exist in the United States.



DECLASSIFIED

Authority MR 93-363 #1ABy BBM NLE Date 10/21/94UNCLASSIFIED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President

The informant also advised that this campaign is designed by the Communist Party for the purpose of rabble rousing. Indications are that the Negro people on the south side of Chicago are already aroused to a fever pitch over this incident.

This confidential informant advised that all leading members of the Communist Party in the Illinois-Indiana area are actively engaged in a campaign regarding this slaying and that 10,000 copies of a leaflet were to have been published and circulated on September 2, 1955, with 6,000 copies to have been distributed on the south side of Chicago.

Claude Lightfoot, according to this informant, was to have issued a statement to the press on September 2, 1955, condemning President Eisenhower, Attorney General Herbert Brownell and Federal and local police officials. The Communist Party will start propagandizing the Till slaying under slogans "Brownellism Must Go" and "Brownellism is Only McCarthyism in Disguise or with Legal Trimming."

The Communist Party is working and mobilizing for a huge mass meeting on the Till case and has planned to hold this meeting on the south side of Chicago, probably under the auspices of the Washington Park Forum. The informant advised that the Communist Party and its sympathizers were also in the process of contacting many Chicago ministers to ask them to make the Till slaying and the Mississippi civil rights situation the main topic of their sermons on September 4, 1955.

This informant also advised that the Civil Rights Congress issued a pamphlet on September 2, 1955, in which information was set forth that John T. Bernard, Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress of Illinois, had written President Eisenhower and Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, relative to this matter.



266 0 3 30-64-22

RECEIVED

UNCLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President

In addition, Chicago newspapers of September 2, 1955, reflected that Mayor of Chicago Richard J. Daley had telegraphed President Eisenhower concerning this case. According to the confidential informant who furnished the information set forth above, pressure of the Negro communities on the south side of Chicago had influenced Daley to send this telegram to President Eisenhower.

The Civil Rights Congress has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The above is being furnished you for your information. Any additional pertinent information received relative to this matter will be furnished you promptly.

The Attorney General is being furnished the foregoing information.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



26 8 3 30 6W.22

RECEIVED

Mr. Conrad



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 13, 1955

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Anderson:

TILL, Emmett

I thought you and the President would be interested in the following information which indicates that the Communist Party, USA, has instituted agitational activity in connection with the murder in Mississippi of Emmett Louis Till, fourteen-year-old Negro Chicago boy.

The Communist Party of Illinois-Indiana has issued a one-page leaflet entitled "Punish the Child Lynchers." This leaflet calls upon President Eisenhower to dismiss Attorney General Brownell and to "end the disgrace of racism and Jim Crow."

The Civil Rights Congress of Illinois has issued a press release which reflects that "John T. Bernard, Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress of Illinois, has demanded that President Eisenhower 'shake up' the Justice Department and put an end to the reign of terror in Mississippi which has resulted in the lynching of a fourteen-year-old Chicago boy."

According to a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past the Communist Party, USA, is attempting to organize delegations to come to Washington, D. C., and at the present time Claude Lightfoot is scheduled to head one of these delegations, and this delegation plans to be in Washington, D. C., on September 19, 1955.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12065, Sec. 3-402

NND 527091, TAB # 359

By DTB NARS, Date 4/6/72

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President

Other delegations are being planned for the purpose of obtaining a hearing with Attorney General Brownell or with President Eisenhower and, if necessary, a delegation may be sent to Denver, Colorado, if the President is still in Denver. If these delegations are unable to obtain a hearing with either the Attorney General or the President they will then attempt to get a hearing with the Hennings Senate Judiciary Subcommittee. The over-all objective of these delegations will be to "put the heat on Federal authorities" and condemn them for not protecting constitutional guarantees in the State of Mississippi because of the failure of that state to protect these guarantees. Another objective of these delegations will be an attempt to show that the Federal Government has the duty of supporting the United States Supreme Court decision on the desegregation issue.

The Communist press is giving widespread publicity to the Till case. The "Daily Worker" for September 9, 1955, carries an article reflecting that New York City Councilman Earl Brown had urged picketing of the White House to protest the lynching of Till. This same issue of the "Daily Worker" carries a statement of the National Committee of the Communist Party which was signed by William Z. Foster, National Chairman, and which urged "Federal intervention against Mississippi lynchers." "The Worker" for September 11, 1955, carries a leading article entitled "Lynching of Fourteen-year-old Boy Arouses Nation" which bears the date line, Chicago. According to the article, well over 100,000 persons came to view the "smashed" body of Emmett Louis Till.

The "Daily Worker" for September 12, 1955, carries a front-page article, date line Chicago, entitled "Steel Union Head Writes Slain Child's Mother, Pledges Fight for Justice." The article states, "a demand that President Eisenhower immediately recall Congress to enact an antilynch law was sounded by labor and other groups here in the wake of the lynching of fourteen-year-old Emmett Louis Till." According to the article the steel-workers union president, David J. MacDonald, sent a letter to Mrs. Mamie Bradley, mother of the slain child, offering the union's help in "seeing to it that justice is carried out." According



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President

to the article Rayfield Mooty, president of a Chicago steel union local, spoke at a rally held in Chicago on September 11, 1955, where a petition campaign was launched addressed to President Eisenhower. The petition declared in part, "We strongly urge you, Mr. President, to call a special session of Congress in order to recommend passage of additional anti-lynch and antipoll tax laws. Only in this way can we be assured that other Negro Americans will not meet a similar death."

This information has been made available to the Attorney General and to the intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces.

As additional pertinent information is received in this regard it will be furnished to you promptly.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



26 14 3 24 6N 22
RECEIVED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Mr. ConnelUNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 11, 1955

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY COURIER SERVICETill, Emmett

Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Anderson:

For your information, a confidential informant of the Chicago, Illinois, Office of this Bureau, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on October 8, 1955, advised as follows:

According to Ray Tillman, chairman, South Side Division of the Illinois-Indiana District of the Communist Party, and Arlene Ward, a member of the Communist Party, four religious organizations; namely, the Congress of Christian Organizations, the United Church Council, the Baptist Ministers Alliance and the National Crusade of Christ, were to sponsor a huge mass rally on Sunday, October 9, 1955, at the Rosebowl, 4747 Cottage Grove Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

The purpose of this meeting was to raise money and to organize a delegation to go to Washington, D. C., on October 22, 1955, in regard to the murder of Emmett Louis Till in Mississippi. This meeting of October 9, 1955, was also to have been sponsored by the Afro-American Congress of Christian Organizations which is also known as National Congress of the Afro-American People, Afro-American Congressional Guard and Afro-American National Infantry. This organization, under the leadership of Clarence William Harding, is an outgrowth of the Universal Negro Improvement Association which has been referred to as the Marcus Garvey "Back-to-Africa" movement.



RECEIVED

DECLASSIFIED

Authority MR 93-363 #10By Bbm NLE Date 12/21/94~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNCLASSIFIED

Letter to Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building

Arlene Ward, mentioned above, has been in contact with Harding, who has stated he will accept assistance from any source. As a result, the Communist Party gave Harding \$100 on October 7, 1955, for the purpose of publishing leaflets to advertise the meeting of October 9, 1955. The Communist Party was to be active in mobilizing people to make the meeting a success and was to organize transportation committees for delegations going to Washington, D. C. This meeting of October 9, 1955, was not instigated by the Communist Party and the Communist Party does not control the Afro-American Congress of Christian Organizations; however, the Communist Party will attempt to influence this organization.

Harding planned to leave Chicago, Illinois, on or about October 10, 1955, for a trip to New York, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Detroit, Michigan; and other cities in the North and the South. In these cities Harding was to contact people in his organization to obtain donations and prepare delegations for the trip to Washington, D. C.

Harding desired from the Communist Party the names of people whom he could contact, but in the event the Communist Party gives Harding any names such will be limited to individuals in trade-unions and the National Negro Labor Council.

During the afore-mentioned trip, Harding planned to contact the underground forces of his organization which have headquarters in Mississippi and reportedly are armed.

Tillman, Ward and Jim Durkin, a member of the Illinois-Indiana District Board of the Communist Party, have stated that Negro people in Chicago, Detroit and other cities are purchasing small firearms and sending them by various means to relatives in the South. Possibly these firearms are being sent to persons residing in states adjacent to Mississippi and are then being smuggled into Mississippi.



Letter to Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building


The afore-mentioned informant pointed out that to his knowledge the Communist Party is not in any way instrumental in the purchase or shipment of these firearms. The informant stated that while there may be some boasting in regard to the shipment of firearms to the South, it is his opinion there is some basis for this information and it is not just idle talk.

The informant noted that although the religious organizations, which also sponsored the meeting of October 9, 1955, may not agree with the entire program of the Afro-American Congress of Christian Organizations, they could not remove their names as sponsors because of the sentiment among the Negro people over the Till case.

The afore-mentioned informant subsequently advised the Chicago Office of this Bureau that at the rally held on October 9, 1955, the sum of \$370 was raised and it was voted to send a delegation to Washington, D. C., on October 22, 1955, in regard to the Emmett Louis Till case. The informant furnished no information concerning the possible contacts of this delegation while in Washington, D. C.

The National Negro Labor Council has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The files of this Bureau reflect that Marcus Garvey, a British West Indian Negro, reputedly formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association at Jamaica, British West Indies, on July 15, 1914. Garvey entered the United States on March 23, 1916, and commenced to promote his movement in the Harlem Section of New York City. Garvey described himself as the Messiah of the Black People throughout the world and made many violent and inflammatory attacks upon the white race and its treatment of Negroes. In connection with the numerous business ventures engaged in by the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Garvey was convicted of using the mails to defraud in 1925. He remained in prison until 1927 when he was deported to the British West Indies. Garvey died in 1940.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building

Relative to the Afro-American National Infantry, also known as National Congress of Afro-American People, the files of this Bureau reflect that on December 4, 1942, Harding was interviewed at his request by Agents of this Bureau. At that time he advised that the National Congress of the Afro-American People was created by him in August, 1938, at which time the first conference was held in Chicago. He indicated this organization consisted of delegates from all of the various Negro organizations in the United States; that it was more or less a federation of Negro societies and that the Afro-American National Infantry was the military division of the National Congress of the Afro-American People.

The Preamble to the Constitution of the National Congress of the Afro-American People reflects the purpose of the organization was "to form a strong confederation of men and women of African descent dedicating our every effort to the proposition of the complete emancipation of our noble race both here and beyond the seas."

In April, 1943, Harding, then a private in the United States Army, was court-martialed for uttering disloyal statements. He was found guilty and sentenced to serve a prison term of five years.

The Attorney General and the intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces are being furnished the foregoing information.

Any additional pertinent data received relative to this matter will be made available to you promptly.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



DEC 15 3 22 PM '42
RECEIVED

UNCLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Mr. C. C. C. C.
~~RACIAL SITUATION~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONWASHINGTON 25, D. C.
November 22, 1955PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Anderson:

TILL, Emmett

Reference is made to my previous communications calling to your attention agitational activity in connection with the death of Emmett Louis Till, fourteen-year-old Negro Chicago boy who was allegedly murdered in Mississippi.

I thought you and the President would be interested in the attached copy of a letter dated September 29, 1955, directed to all Communist Party districts from the headquarters of the Communist Party, USA, which sets forth the proposals of the Communist Party's campaign to exert pressures against the Eisenhower Administration and Attorney General Brownell to intervene in the Emmett Louis Till lynching.

This information has been made available to the Attorney General and the intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces.

As additional pertinent information is received in this regard it will be furnished to you promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

NOV 23 4 20 PM '55

RECEIVED

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12065, Sec. 3-402

NND 571001 TAB # 357

By D. J. HARRIS, Date 4/5/82~~CONFIDENTIAL~~